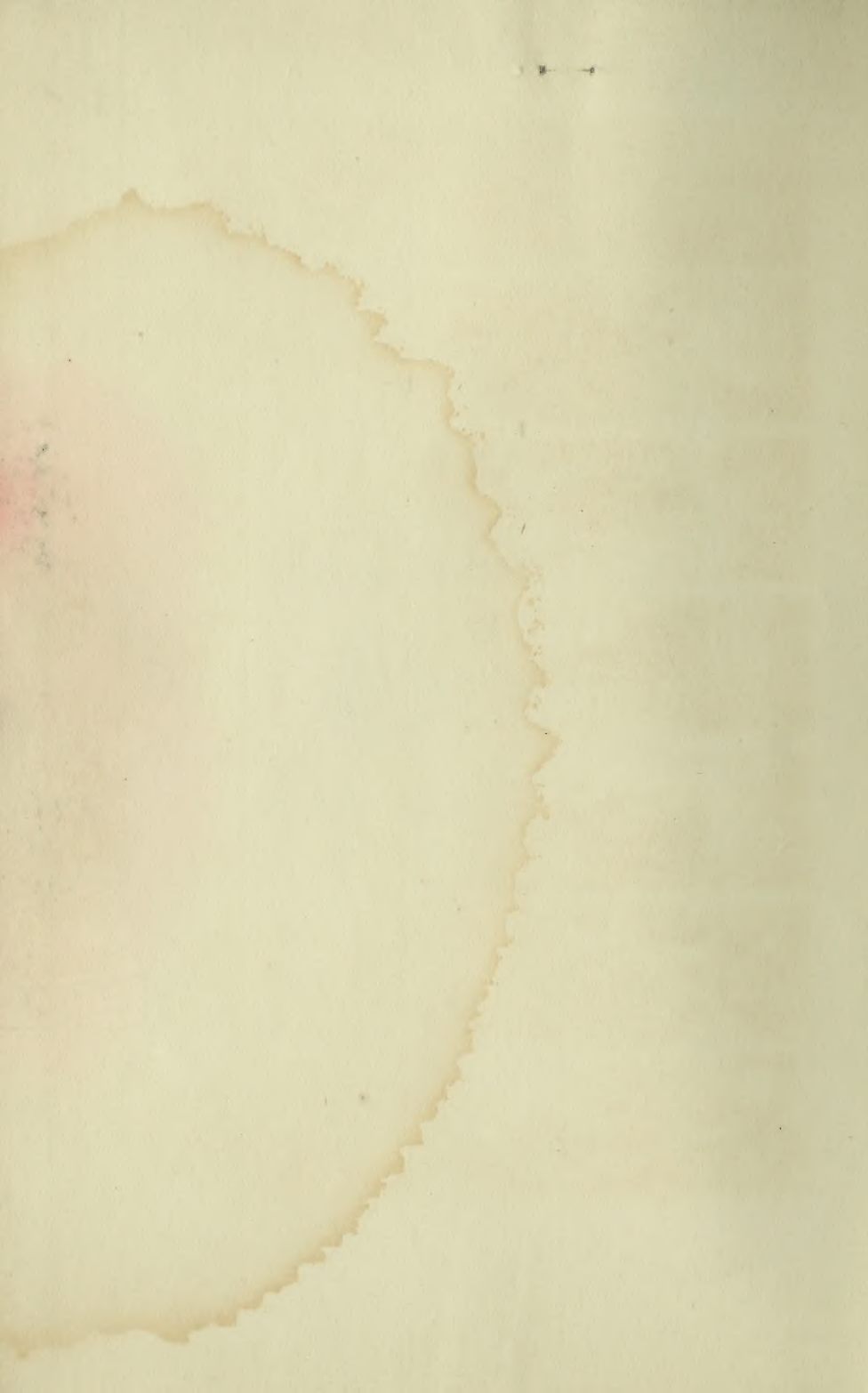


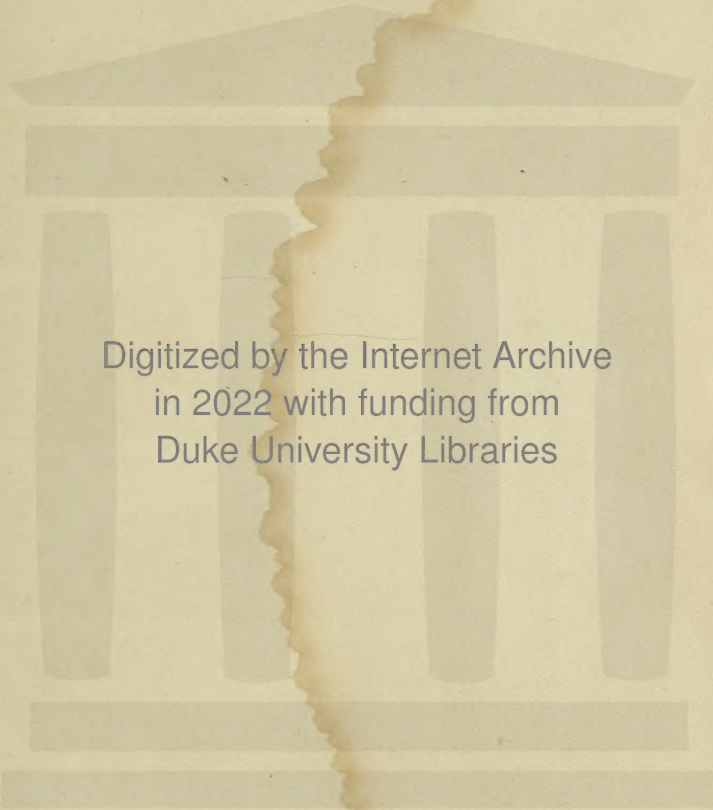


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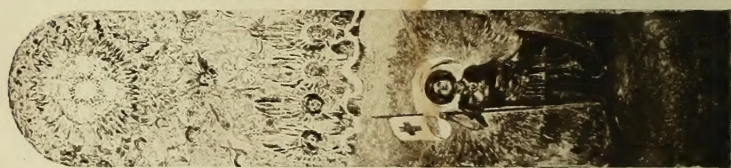


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Annals of St. Michael's

Being the History of St. Michael's Protestant
Episcopal Church, New York, for

One Hundred Years

1807-1907

Compiled by Order of the Vestry

"There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels
fought against the dragon."—*Rev. xii., 7.*

Edited by

John Punnett Peters, D.D.

Chancel windows of St. Michael's.

(Designed and executed by Louis Tiffany.)

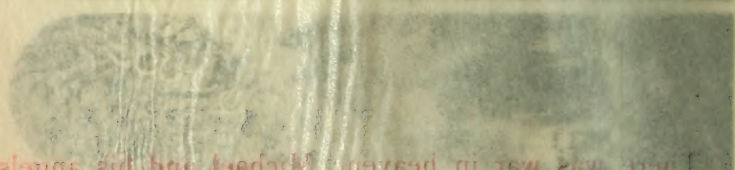
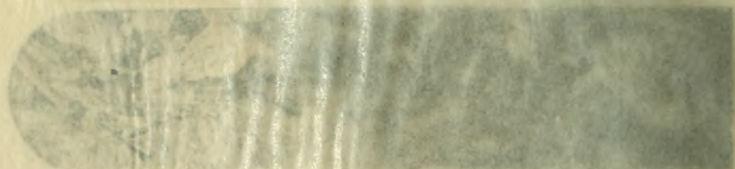
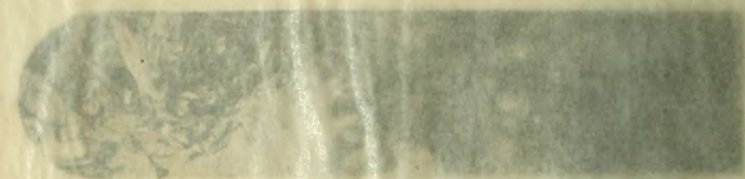
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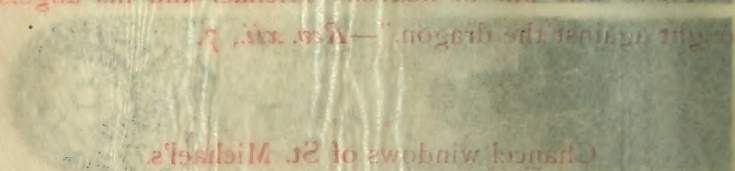
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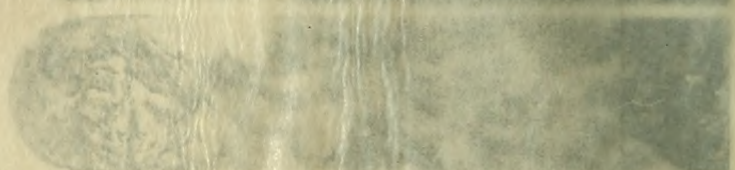
1907



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fought against the dragon. — Rev. xii. 7.



Chained windows of St. Michael's
(Designed and executed by Louis Tiffany.)



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11

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PREFACE

COMMISSIONED by the Vestry to prepare a brief volume on the history of St. Michael's Church, in connection with the centenary of the parish, I have far overstepped the boundaries of brevity in this present work. My plea for pardon or at least suspension of sentence is the interest of the theme. The history of St. Michael's is intimately connected with the history and development, material, mental, and spiritual of the entire upper part of Manhattan Island. It was impossible to tell the story of the church without telling the story of the old families that built it, the old houses in which they lived, and the gradual changes through which the people and their homes have passed in the hundred years of the church's life. It was St. Michael's Church, its rectors, wardens, and vestrymen, who concerned themselves in the making of the new city on the West Side, with its schools and hospitals, its parks and playgrounds, its churches and asylums, its libraries and its transit facilities. The history of all these things is inextricably interwoven with the history of St. Michael's. She is the mother of a dozen churches, and almost as many institutions. Their story is a part of her history. The work of the Church among the miserable and abandoned in the hospitals, asylums, almshouses, and prisons, the work of the Church in the slums, the rescue work for fallen women and forsaken children,—these began in St. Michael's. From her went forth the first free church; she first

provided Christian burial for the poor. Here the first and greatest of our sisterhoods was founded; her Charity School became the first Public School of the West Side; she sent her rectors as missionaries to Oregon, Turkey, and Five Points; she entered the courts to fight powerful railroad corporations to protect the people's rights. Surely it is a tale worth telling, and worth taking the time and space to tell. Some of her rectors, too, have been, not only men of mark in the Church and the community, but men the story of whose lives is both interesting and profitable. One was the most famous scholar of the Church in his day, another a pioneer in missions, another a preaching friar, a firebrand of freedom, another a wise and prophetic organizer, whose organizations have made their impress on the whole Church. Of these men and their work this book tells the story.

I must return thanks to the Vestry, who authorized the publication of this volume; the members of St. Michael's staff, who have given me such ungrudging and unselfish aid; the parishioners and old parishioners and the descendants of still older parishioners who have communicated to me their recollections and their family traditions, and helped me to procure both facts and illustrations; and last but not least to the publishers who have co-operated with me to deliver on time a book, worthy in appearance, I trust, of its theme, bearing with the vagaries and shortcomings of an editor who always, at the last moment, found more things to be told, "wanting to deliver his manuscript to-morrow, and receive his book printed and bound yesterday."

JOHN P. PETERS.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, NEW YORK,
Michaelmas, 1907.

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PART I

THE STORY OF ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH
AND NEIGHBORHOOD

CHAPTER I

Old Bloomingdale: Its Appearance; How the Yellow Fever Caused the Building of Two Churches; The Foundation of St. Michael's; The First Trustees, Vestrymen, and Pewholders, and Something about them, their Homes, and their Times.

IN Holland, near Haarlaem, lies the beautiful little town of Bloemendael, always famous for its flowers. When the Dutch settled Manhattan Island they brought with them the names of their old home towns. New Amsterdam was the first settlement, at the lower extremity of the island, and then Haarlaem on the great plain in the northeastern part of Manhattan. In those days the shore line along the Hudson, or North River, was the most beautiful part of the island. The river bank rose in a bluff, at some places quite abruptly, at others sloping more gently, broken at irregular intervals by dales, through some of which streams ran down to the river, forming small bays. The shore of the river and the plateau above were originally heavily wooded, while the dales or valleys of the streams formed veritable jungles, rich in flowers and vines. No wonder that, mindful of the beautiful flower town so near Haarlaem, the early settlers of Manhattan gave to this stretch of land along the Hudson River from Manhattanville southward the name of Bloomingdale. Irving, describing this region as it existed toward the middle of the

first half of the nineteenth century, gives a charming picture of one of these beautiful dales, but which, it is now impossible to determine, for there were several strikingly similar in their physical characteristics. So far as the description goes, it might have been Striker's Bay valley, the last of these dales to preserve its identity, as it existed in my childhood. Here, a bay of some extent set in from the river, and down the wooded valley behind coursed a charming stream, which had its origin in a pond and springs in the neighborhood of 104th Street, thence following in general the line of Broadway to 96th Street, where it turned down to the river. Even in my early manhood this valley was a natural wild-flower garden, and I remember no region where, in my botanical excursions, I used to find more varieties of wild flowers than here. There was still at that time another lesser bay about 89th Street, and a dale at 86th Street. Earlier other such dales existed all along the shore of the river, which grew lower the further one went southward.

The name Bloomingdale in the earlier time applied to the whole district from 34th Street or a little below, northward to the top of the great hill at about 120th Street. Beyond this a deep depression cut the highland in two, while a more considerable bay, called Harlem Cove, set in from the river. In the early part of the nineteenth century an attempt was made, by carrying a canal through this natural depression, to connect the East and North rivers, and sections of this canal still existed toward the middle of the century, in one of which a boy was drowned. Beyond Manhattanville were highlands similar to those below, only narrower and more rugged.

There was no village or settlement of Bloomingdale,

the name applying originally merely to the district. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this region was occupied by the summer homes of well-to-do New Yorkers. The only means of communication with the city was the old Bloomingdale Road, which followed in general the present line of Broadway. Originally this road extended to 114th Street, where stood the house of Nicholas DePeyster, but toward the close of the eighteenth century it was continued onward down the great Manhattanville hill into the valley and up again for about a mile, until it formed a junction with the old Albany or Kingsbridge Road. During the War of 1812, as a defence against the British, a breastwork was thrown up along the edge of the high land above the Harlem plain and the Manhattanville valley, from river to river, while across the Bloomingdale Road, at the top of Manhattanville hill, a strong gate was erected which remained in position until the year 1824. From Bloomingdale Road private lanes, bearing the names of adjacent property owners, ran off right and left, giving access to the various country seats. Here and there one of these lanes found its way down to the river; or meandered across to the Post Road on the eastern edge of what is now Central Park. Many of these lanes still existed within my recollection. DePeyster, afterwards Asylum Lane, leaving Bloomingdale Road at 112th Street, ended at the bluff at 113th Street, above the Harlem plain; Goodever's, afterwards Clendening Lane, starting at about 103d Street, slanted up to the high land at 105th Street and 8th Avenue, then zigzagged down to Harlem plain and the eastern Post Road below McGowan's Pass; Apthorpe's, afterwards Jauncey's Lane, at 92d Street, formed a medium of communication between

Bloomingdale and southern Harlem; while Harsen Road, at 71st Street, led over to Hamilton Square and Yorkville. Among the more important lanes to the west of Bloomingdale Road were Kemble's, afterwards Abbey Lane at 102d Street; Striker's Bay Lane at 96th Street and Mott's Lane just below 94th Street, both of which debouched finally at the river near 95th Street; and the Livingston or Waldo Lane at about 91st Street. All of these were narrow country lanes, generally lined with trees. Altogether Bloomingdale was, even in my boyhood, when most of the old country places were already deserted or destroyed, a very rural and a very beautiful region. It must have been an earthly paradise in the still older time when it was a neighborhood of comfortable country houses, with their accompanying farms and gardens.

Up to the year 1805 there were no churches between St. Mark's in the Bowery and St. John's, Yonkers. It was the prevalence of yellow fever to which may be ascribed primarily the provision for the spiritual needs of the population of the intervening territory. In the last years of the eighteenth and the first years of the nineteenth centuries, New York was repeatedly visited by epidemics of yellow fever. There are records of such epidemics in 1791, '94, '95, '97, '98, '99, 1801, '03, and '05, and the mortality in proportion to the population was enormous. Business was seriously interfered with. All who could fled the city, at least during the summer months, the period of prevalence of the disease, and sought suburban homes. Men were even fearful of congregating for the prosecution of business. The banks were removed to Greenwich and their sojourn there is commemorated in the name Bank Street. Villages like Greenwich grew rapidly at the expense of the city



THE RT. REV. BENJAMIN MOORE, S.T.D.
Consecrator of First St. Michael's Church, Bishop of New York, 1801-1816
From a *History of the Parish of Trinity Church* by Rev. Dr.
Morgan Dix. By permission of Trinity Corporation

proper. The Dutch Reformed Church, which was still at that period the leading denomination in the city, was the first to endeavor to meet the new situation, establishing a church in Greenwich village in 1803. Two years later steps were taken to provide a church for the more scattered population farther northward, the result of which was the formation and incorporation of the Bloomingdale Reformed Church in 1806, originally located at 69th Street and Broadway, but now, after several removals, occupying a site on Bloomingdale Square, 107th Street and Broadway. At about the same time a number of gentlemen living somewhat farther northward organized for the purpose of erecting an Episcopal church. Money was collected, and, in 1806, Trinity, where most of the organizers of the proposed church were regular worshippers, promised \$2000 if, and when, a church building should be erected. Three trustees were appointed to hold the property until a church should be built: Robert T. Kemble, William Rodgers, and William Jauncey. A plot of land 150 feet by 75 just north of 99th Street, and east of the Bloomingdale Road, beautifully situated above the valley of the little stream which emptied into Striker's Bay, was deeded to these trustees by a prominent merchant of New York, Oliver H. Hicks and Julia his wife, in consideration of \$150, paid for the same, on condition that the property should be used for the erection of a church; and here they proceeded to erect the first church edifice. This was completed the following year, and consecrated July 27, 1807. It would be interesting to know just why this church was named St. Michael's; but of that there is no record. Doubtless it represented some early associations of some of the founders, but what, or of whom, we do not know.

The first entry in the minute-book of the Vestry contains the record of the consecration, as follows:

I *Benjamin Moore* by divine permission *Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church* in the State of New York, do hereby declare that the House, by the name of St. Michael's Church, is consecrated to the service of Almighty God, for the administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this *27th day of July* in the year of our Lord *one thousand eight hundred and seven*, and in the Sixth year of my Consecration.

BENJAMIN MOORE,
Bishop of the P. E. Church,
in the State of New York.

The next entry records the meeting for incorporation held August 17, 1807:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We the Subscribers do Certify, that a meeting of the male persons of full age, in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, who belong to the Church or Congregation of St. Michael's

Which said Church is situate at a place called Bloomingdale in the Ninth Ward of the City of New York, in the County of New York, for the purpose of Incorporating themselves, under the act entitled an Act to provide for the Incorporation of religious societies, was holden in the said Church on this seventeenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, pursuant to a legal notice for that purpose given. And we further certify that at the said meeting Garrit Van Horne (there being no Rector) was called to the Chair and presided. And thereupon the said meeting did by a majority of voices duly elect Robert T. Kemble and William Rodgers

to be Church Wardens, and Valentine Nutter, Edward Dunscomb, Michael Hogan, William A. Davis, Oliver H. Hicks, Jacob Schieffelin, Thomas Cadle and Isaac Jones to be Vestrymen of the said Church or Congregation. And the said meeting did then and there determine, that on Wednesday in Easter week the said offices of Church Wardens and Vestrymen shall annually cease, and their successors in office be chosen. And we do further certify that the said Church or Congregation is to be known in law by the name and title of *St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church*.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have hereunto affixed our hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Witness

JAMES P. VAN HORNE,	GARRIT VAN HORNE, <i>Chairman</i> .
ROBERT G. L. DE PEYSTER,	DAVID M. CLARKSON,
JOHN C. CLARKSON.	FRED ^R . DE PEYSTER.

As an incorporation, therefore, the birthday of this church was August 17, 1807. The first church was consecrated, however, on the 27th of July of that year, the corner-stone was laid in 1806, and the inception of the undertaking dates from 1805. The Corporation of St. Michael's Church, consisting of the wardens and vestrymen, held its first meeting on the 20th of August, three days after the incorporation, when there were present the two wardens, Robert T. Kemble and William Rodgers, and six of the vestrymen, Edward Dunscomb, Thomas Cadle, Valentine Nutter, Michael Hogan, Isaac Jones, and William A. Davis. Robert T. Kemble was chosen chairman of the meeting and also made first treasurer of the church. William A. Davis was the first secretary. The business of the first meeting was to elect a rector, and the Rev. John Henry Hobart, at that time an assistant at Trinity Church,

later rector of that church and Bishop of New York, was appointed rector of St. Michael's Church. He was at that period the coming man, and St. Michael's was one of a number of churches which elected him as its rector, only to have the call declined. At the same meeting it was resolved to sell the pews "on Thursday next, the 27th inst., at four o'clock, for three years, subject to an annual rent of \$5 per pew, except numbers 1 and 53, which are rated at \$10 per annum." This was not a low rental for those days, pews in St. Paul's and elsewhere renting at the same figure. Pews 1 and 53 seem to have been the two large double pews on either side of what served as the chancel. At this meeting the trustees of the property, Robert T. Kemble, William Rodgers, and William Jauncey were requested to convey the property held in trust by them to the corporation of St. Michael's Church; the secretary was directed to procure an appropriate seal for the use of the corporation; and the chairman was authorized to call meetings of the wardens and vestrymen "whenever in his opinion the occasion shall require." The sale of pews took place as directed on the 27th of August of the same year, and the list of the first pewholders, with the prices paid by them, is recorded in the minutes.¹ Oliver H. Hicks and John Jackson secured the double pews, 1 and 53, at a rental of \$10. The other pews, instead of renting at \$5 each, or \$15 for the period of three years, as expected, fetched prices varying from \$8 for three years, paid by Dr. Hammersley for pew 2, to \$25 for the three years paid by Peter Schermerhorn for pew 47. All told, the amount realized from the sale of pews for three years amounted to \$577, or a little less than \$200 a year.

¹ See Appendix A.

The first pewholders were summer residents of Bloomingdale and adjacent sections, occupying their houses from May to November and attending during the winter Trinity or one of its chapels. A perusal of the list shows that among them were the most prominent citizens of New York; while some of the names on the list remind us that the period of the Revolution was not yet remote. Pew 3 was bought by Mrs. Hamilton, the widow of the famous statesman. She lived at about 142d Street and what is now Convent Avenue. All the land thereabout, from above 144th Street to and including the Manhattanville valley, and from St. Nicholas Avenue westward to the North River, originally belonged to Mr. Jacob Schieffelin and his brothers-in-law, Lawrence and Buckley. A considerable piece of this land Mr. Schieffelin sold to his dear friend, Alexander Hamilton, that he might have him for a neighbor, and on this land General Hamilton built a residence known as Hamilton Grange. Mr. Schieffelin's own country seat stood on what was until recently the site of the Colored Orphan Asylum, about 144th Street and Broadway, and was known as Roccoa Hall. During the Revolution Mr. Schieffelin, of German origin but a Philadelphian by birth, had been a Royalist, serving on the staff of the British General, Henry Hamilton. After the war, like so many other Royalists, he emigrated to Canada, engaging in business in Montreal. Later, having married a young Quaker lady from New York, he removed to this city and in conjunction with his brother-in-law, John B. Lawrence, established in 1794 the drug firm of Lawrence & Schieffelin, which, after 113 years, still continues to exist as W. H. Schieffelin & Co.

Another Royalist and officer of the English army,

who appears among the original pewholders of St. Michael's Church, is Frederick DePeyster, fourth in descent from Johannes DePeyster, who came to this country from Holland about 1650. He was a captain in the King's Third American Regiment. After the war he emigrated to New Brunswick, returning to this city, in which his family had long played a prominent part, some time after 1792. Here he occupied a distinguished position both in the civil and religious life of the community. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church and the first treasurer of the Society for Promoting Religion and Learning. His country home was on the present site of St. Luke's Hospital, on the bluffs overlooking Harlem Plain. The house of his cousin, Nicholas DePeyster, stood at about 114th Street and Bloomingdale Road, and much of the land in that vicinity was in the hands of various members of the DePeyster family.

Michael Hogan, who had come over from England to this country, built and occupied the present Claremont at 125th Street on the high bluffs overlooking the river and the Manhattanville valley. William Rodgers's home, which later became the Abbey Hotel, burned in 1852 or 1853, stood at about 102d Street and the river, his property extending southward almost to Striker's Bay. Robert T. Kemble's property was adjacent to this on the north, and the entrance to both properties was through Kemble's afterwards Abbey Lane. Garrit Van Horne's house stood just south of 94th Street and west of the Bloomingdale Road, on the north side of a charming lane running down to the river. Later it became part of the Mott property, and was for many years the residence of Rev. William Richmond. In that house the present rector and



FIVE ORIGINAL PEWHOLDERS OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

FREDERICK DEPEYSTER (Upper Left)

PETER SCHERMERHORN (Upper Right)

JACOB SCHIEFFELIN (Center)

BARON JOHN CORNELIUS VANDENHEUVEL (Lower Left)

OLIVER H. HICKS (Lower Right)

the present senior warden of this parish were born. William Jauncey's house, known as Elmwood, which will be remembered by many middle-aged residents of this region as Elm Park, a picnic resort at which one of the Orange and Ribbon riots of the seventies began, stood just south of 92d Street between 9th and 10th avenues, on the present site of St. Agnes's Chapel. Near this, at about 90th Street and Broadway, was William A. Davis's place, known as Ravenswood. John Mac-Vickar was one of the best known citizens and most prominent Churchmen of New York of that day. His place stood just south of the Brockholst Livingston property, at 89th Street and the North River. Baron John Cornelius Vandenheuvel, formerly governor of Demerara in Guiana, who had married a Miss Apthorpe of Bloomingdale, lived in a large brick house which he had built at 79th Street and Broadway. This was afterwards the Burnham Hotel, and has only recently been pulled down to make way for apartment houses. Valentine Nutter owned a considerable property, bounded by 8th Avenue on the west, running from a little above 111th Street to 107th Street, and then southeastward far into the present Central Park. Nathaniel Prime, the first great banker of New York and counted one of the five richest men of America in his day, lived at 86th Street and the East River. The Rhinelander, Schermerhorn, and Jones properties were in the same general region along the East River. All of these men were prominent in the life of the city in their day, and most of them were prosperous merchants. Some of the other pewholders and early parishioners of St. Michael's lived on Harlem Plain, and the original parish, reckoned according to the homes of the pewholders, may be said to have ex-

tended from 162d Street or thereabouts on the north to 72d Street or thereabouts on the south and from the North River to the East River.

At the time St. Michael's was started the only other Episcopal churches in the city were Trinity, with its two chapels of St. George and St. Paul, Christ Church, founded in 1793 but not admitted to Convention until 1802, St. Mark's in the Bowery, admitted to Convention in the same year, 1802, the French Church of St. Esprit, admitted in 1804, and St. Stephen's in 1805. Outside of the city of New York there were in the diocese one church on Staten Island (St. Andrew's), one in Brooklyn (St. Ann's), four churches in the neighboring villages on Long Island, five churches in Westchester County, and about six churches in the Hudson River towns up to Troy; in all, twenty churches in union with Convention, with a few weak mission stations. There were about twenty-five clergy in the diocese, which comprised theoretically the whole state, and the total number of communicants was less than the number of communicants in one church like St. George's, New York, at the present day. Ecclesiastically it was a day of very small things.

To turn from the religious to the secular: the total population of the city in 1807 was probably not more than 75,000. As to area, on the east side the city extended up the Bowery as far as Grand Street and on the west side as far as Leonard Street, but there was much unoccupied space within this area. The fashionable part of the city was Broadway below Pearl Street, with Wall Street and Pine. Nathaniel Prime lived at No. 1 Broadway, Jacob Schieffelin on Pearl Street, Oliver H. Hicks on Wall Street, and most of the other vestrymen of St. Michael's in that imme-

diate neighborhood; and with the exception of St. Mark's in the Bowery all the churches were in that vicinity. St. Mark's was still well out in the country, and many of its parishioners were only summer residents. So in the Convention Report of 1806 we read: "Communicants can not be exactly ascertained; in the summer there are usually from 120 to 200, in the winter from 60 to 70 persons." There were at that time nineteen newspapers in New York, of which eight were dailies, among them the *Evening Post* and the *Commercial Advertiser*.

In the political world 1807 was a period of great excitement and disturbance. In that year Napoleon brought Russia to her knees by the victory of Friedland and reached the very pinnacle of his fame and power. Both he and the English Government, in their struggle for control of the seas, had so mishandled the commerce of the poor and petty United States that at last by way of reprisal and self-defence "the Embargo," Jefferson's "peaceful war," was declared at the close of that year. No ships were allowed to leave port to the great detriment and within the next few years almost the ruin of the commerce of New York, and not a few of the prominent merchants connected with the founding of St. Michael's Church were seriously affected in purse by this act. Internally the country was disturbed by the Burr trial, in which also some of the members of St. Michael's had a peculiar and personal interest, for Alexander Hamilton's widow was a member of the parish as were also not a few of his dear friends and neighbors.

Thanks to these conditions the year 1807 and the next few years following were a period of financial depression and stagnation. The city almost ceased to

grow; but there were some men who even then foresaw in some degree the future greatness of New York. It was in our birth year, 1807, that a committee was appointed, consisting of Simeon DeWolf, Gouverneur Morris, and John Rutherford to lay out the streets of New York, a trust which they finally fulfilled in 1811 by mapping out our present street system as far north as 155th Street. But to the majority of the people of that day such a street scheme seemed but an idle dream, and when the City Hall was completed in 1812, it was finished with marble on the front and cheaper sandstone on the north side toward Chambers Street, because our city fathers and with them the majority of the people believed that the city was not likely to extend beyond those limits, and hence no one would see the back of the building.

In spite of the financial depression and the political disturbance, or perhaps because of them, for periods of financial depression and serious political upheaval are apt to coincide with periods of spiritual and religious activities, the year 1807 was peculiarly fruitful industrially, socially, and religiously in events of importance for New York. In August of that year Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, named after the Livingston homestead, in recognition of Mr. Livingston's assistance, made its first trip to Albany in thirty-two hours. A little later in the same year the *Phœnix*, owned and invented by Col. John Stevens of Hoboken, was launched, but as Livingston had secured a monopoly of steam navigation on the Hudson through the priority of Fulton's invention, the *Phœnix* was transferred to Philadelphia. At this day it is interesting to note that Fulton made his experiments in Collect Pond, a sheet of water some two miles in circumference, and at its

deepest portion fifty feet in depth, surrounded by a "dense forest," occupying the territory where now stand the Tombs and the old Five Points, including Mulberry Street, and connected with the Hudson River by a canal, which is now Canal Street. It was a favorite skating ground in winter then and later. In 1807 also the public school system received its initiatory impulse. Teaching began in old No. 1 on Chatham Street on April 28th of that year; and in the same year both state and city commenced to contribute toward the support of education. In the same year the College of Physicians and Surgeons was established. In 1807 the New York Orphan Asylum Society, with Mrs. Alexander Hamilton as its second directress, opened its first building, the first orphan asylum of the city. In the same year the New York Hospital was organized, which was a little later to build one of its most important asylums, that for the insane, within the bounds of St. Michael's parish; and a year later the American Academy of Fine Arts was founded.

The year 1807 and the years immediately preceding and succeeding witnessed, moreover, the founding of a relatively large number of new churches, especially of our own communion, suggesting a quickening of spiritual life and the beginning of a reaction from the long period of unbelief and indifference which marked the closing years of the eighteenth century. Out of the old French Church of the Refugees was organized in 1804 the French Church of St. Esprit; St. Stephen's Church was organized and its first building consecrated in 1805. In 1807 St. John's Chapel of Trinity was built, the most expensive and finest place of worship in the city in those days. In 1808 Grace Church was built by Trinity at a cost of \$20,000 and endowed

with twenty-five lots of land. In 1810 St. James's Church was consecrated and in the same year the Lutheran congregation of Zion joined the Episcopal Church in a body, as the result of a movement begun in 1804, was incorporated as a parish, and began to build its first church edifice, which was completed and consecrated the following year. In 1811 St. George's Church was organized out of St. George's Chapel. Prejudice was still strong, however, against the Episcopal Church, as the church of the Royalists, and the adherents of that church were still almost exclusively the members of a few old families, chiefly of English or Royalist connection, with their dependents. But the tide was beginning to turn. French and Lutherans were joining the Church, and the list of the first pew-holders of St. Michael's, with its Vandenheuvels, Van Hornes, DePeysters, Schermerhorns, and the like, shows the drift of the old Dutch families toward the Episcopal Church as the church of the aristocracy.

CHAPTER II

A Record of the Growth and Development of the Church and Neighborhood, with Reference to Happenings Political, Economical, and Social, to the Close of Rev. Dr. Jarvis's Rectorship, in 1820.

THE attempt to secure the Rev. John Henry Hobart as first rector of the church failed, and for the first year of its existence St. Michael's Church was without a settled minister. Apparently occasional services were held, for there is a record in the Vestry minutes of a resolution to ring the bell at sunset on Saturday when service was to be held on Sunday.

The amount obtained by the sale of pews for the support of the church was found, from the outset, to be quite inadequate, and the Vestry resolved to take a collection every Sunday morning. The cost of the church building is reported as \$4959.72, of which Trinity Corporation contributed \$2000. Evidently a subscription paper had been passed about to raise the remainder, for, after the incorporation of the society, the treasurer reports that he is in receipt from Frederick DePeyster of the sum of \$100, his subscription toward erecting the building. No other names of subscribers, however, are preserved.¹ The

¹ The names of a few of the early pewholders of St. Michael's appear on the subscription list for the erection of St. Stephen's, in 1805: Frederick DePeyster, \$30, Joshua Jones, \$25, William Rhineland, \$25 (twice), and Thomas Cadle, \$5.

church itself was a plain frame building, painted white, with a small belfry, the common type of church architecture at that period. It stood on what is now Amsterdam Avenue, and a long path led from the church door to the entrance on Bloomingdale Road. Between the church and the road stood a couple of weeping willows, which are said to have been characteristic of the scenery of Bloomingdale in those days. At the outset there were no blinds to the windows, and among the earlier expenses for which provision was made was the purchase of blinds. Within the church was severely plain, according to the fashion of the time. One of those who worshipped there, at a somewhat later date, writes that in his recollection the old church was furnished with high-backed pews, a lofty reading desk on the north side of the chancel, and a still more lofty pulpit on the south side. The chancel window was a fine piece of stained glass, imported from England, representing the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, with the motto: "May I not do what I will with mine own?" and was, I believe, a gift from some person who took this manner of asserting his protest against certain criticisms of his disposition of his property.

An old guide-book, *A Picture of New York*, states the dimensions of the church to have been 53 ft. by 26 ft., which seems to be an error. The few who still remember the church say that it was about the size of the present St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, which would correspond better with the number of pews contained in the pew rental record. It seated about 200 persons. There was no centre aisle, but two side aisles. There was no organ and no musical instrument of any sort. The responses were read by the clerk, who also lifted the hymns.



THE FIRST CHURCH
Consecrated July 27, 1807

Although it had no rector, the church was represented in the Convention of 1807 by lay delegates, elected at a vestry meeting held on September 28th of that year. Early in the following year, before the members of the church had moved to their country homes, a meeting of the wardens and vestrymen was held at the house of Oliver H. Hicks in Wall Street, and Robert T. Kemble, Valentine Nutter, and Isaac Jones were appointed a committee to find a rector. The number of clergy in orders at that time was very small. The clergy of the colonial period had been chiefly Englishmen. The Revolution put a stop to this supply, and as no schools or colleges had yet been founded by the Church in America for the education of its own ministers a dearth of clergy followed. But the Vestry were determined that another summer should not pass without some provision being made for services. They were godly and pious men, quite unwilling either to drive down on Sunday to Trinity or one of the other churches in the city, or to go without religious ministrations. By a canon passed in 1806, "providing for the supply of vacant parishes," owing to the increasing demand for the services of the Episcopal Church and the scarcity of clergymen, it was ordered that all settled rectors were to take duty in outlying parishes. Acting under this canon, St. Michael's now turned to its neighboring parish of St. John's, Yonkers, and on April 30, 1808, the Rev. Mr. Cooper of that church was appointed minister until November 1st, at the rate of \$300 for that time, and Mr. Jarvis¹

¹ No first names are given for either Mr. Cooper or Mr. Jarvis. There seems no doubt, however, that the first was the Rev. Elias Cooper of Yonkers. The only other Cooper on the clergy list of the diocese was Joab G. Cooper of Hudson. There was a Peter Cooper recommended for ordination in 1790. Whether he was

appointed clerk for the same period, at a salary of \$100, including expenses of travelling to and from Bloomingdale. If and how long Mr. Cooper officiated is not clear, for a little over a fortnight later, May 16, 1808, the Rev. John Vanderbilt Bartow, son of Rev. Thomas Bartow of New Rochelle, was called to be minister of the church at a salary of \$500 a year, and it was ordered that the church should open for services "by the second Sabbath in June." Evidently it was opened at that time, for on Sunday, June 12th, Mr. Bartow baptized "Robert Birmingham, a white infant, at St. Michael's Church." This is the first entry in the parish register, and represents, apparently, the date of commencement of regular services.

Mr. Bartow was at that time in deacon's orders and so continued during his connection with St. Michael's Church. Technically he was never rector and he never had a seat in Convention. His duties appear to have consisted in holding service once a Sunday from April or May until November, and officiating occasionally at baptisms, marriages, and burials. The great majority of the baptisms, marriages, and burials recorded by him on loose sheets of paper, and now in the archives of this church, were not performed at St. Michael's but at various city churches or at private houses without the parish. Evidently but a small part of his time was engaged by his duties at St. Michael's. He did not even reside in the parish. His study was in Broad Street, and apparently he resided either there or with his father in New Rochelle.

ever ordained or what became of him, I do not know. There was a James Jarvis, clerk of St. Mark's in 1799, but whether he was the same Mr. Jarvis who became clerk of St. Michael's in 1808 I do not know.

It is impossible successfully to conduct any parish by distant treatment, and it is not to be wondered at that, before the season was out, September 8, 1808, it was necessary to appoint a committee to solicit subscriptions for "the support of the church and the clergyman for the present year." This was not, apparently, Mr. Bartow's fault, but the fault of the whole idea and arrangement of the parish, which made it a mere "chapel of ease," a place at which a decorous and respectable sort of family prayers was to be held once a week during the summer, for a little group of well-to-do neighbors.

The financial condition soon became so serious that at a Vestry meeting called on Thursday, January 26, 1809, a committee was appointed to memorialize Trinity Church for aid in the establishment of a permanent revenue for the support of St. Michael's Church. This committee, which consisted of Robert T. Kemble, Valentine Nutter, Edward Dunscomb, and William A. Davis, drew up a memorial which was adopted by the vestry at a meeting at the house of Mr. Hicks on Friday, February 3, 1809:

To the Wardens and Vestrymen composing the Corporation of Trinity Church in the City of New York.

The Corporation of St. Michael's Church in the ninth Ward of the said City to your Honorable Body most respectfully *Represent*.

That notwithstanding the liberal aid they have heretofore received from the funds of Trinity Church, and the very handsome and laudable donations or subscriptions of private individuals anxious to establish an Episcopal Church in that neighbourhood, a considerable debt incurred in the erection and completion of said Church remains yet unpaid.

That they have solicited subscriptions by which they

have thus far been enabled to meet the incidental and necessary expenses, and keep together their Congregation, which to many of them, and your memorialists in particular, has been a source of satisfaction and happiness, inasmuch as some of them have large and growing families, whom they are desirous of educating in the doctrines of the Church, which it would be very inconvenient if not utterly impossible to accomplish, was it not for the present establishment.

And your memorialists are verily of opinion that the Church must languish and decline without your fostering aid.

Your memorialists have witnessed on different occasions the liberality of the Corporation of Trinity Church, and their anxiety to support and conduct to independence the infant Church Establishment, they therefore with confidence appeal to that liberality which characterised your respectable Body, trusting that in the exercise of it you will experience the pleasing reflection of having nurtured and established on a firm basis a house of worship in the vicinity of your populous City.

They therefore most respectfully solicit from the Corporation of Trinity Church, a fund either in money or land, from which a permanent revenue may be derived, sufficient to relieve them from their present embarrassments, and to enable them in future, more effectually to support the Clergyman and establishment of St. Michael's Church.

It is worth noting that at least four members of the Trinity Vestry thus memorialized were themselves pewholders at St. Michael's: John McVickar, Frederick DePeyster, Joshua Jones, and David M. Clarkson. There is no record in the minutes of St. Michael's Church of the disposition made of this memorial, but from the records of Trinity Church it appears that six lots were given to St. Michael's Church, two each

in Vesey, Barclay, and Chambers streets, and that in addition an annual donation of \$500 was granted to the churches of St. Michael and St. James combined. At that date and for a long time thereafter, it was the policy of Trinity Church to make such deeds of real estate for the purpose of establishing independent churches. It had given twenty-eight lots to St. Mark's a few years earlier. The next year, 1808, it gave twenty-five lots to Grace Church, besides defraying the entire cost of a church building. Somewhat later, when St. George's ceased to be a chapel and became a parish, thirty-three lots were deeded to that corporation. Other donations of a similar character were made to all the older churches with one exception, namely, Christ Church. Christ Church was a split from Trinity and was founded in 1793 against the wishes of the latter, from which it drew away a considerable portion of its congregation. On this account Christ Church not only received no grant of land, but Trinity for nine years prevented its admission to Convention, which it was able to do under the terms of its own charter and title.

By its original charter of 1697, Trinity was made the "sole and only parish church" in New York City, and the famous land grant of Queen Anne was made to "The Rector together with all the inhabitants from time to time inhabiting and to inhabit the city of New York, and in communion with the Protestant Church of England." After the Revolution its corporate title was changed to read: "The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York, in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York." Trinity was, therefore, after the Revolution as before, the Church in New York City. In

the colonial period, when there had seemed to be need of additional church accommodation to provide for the increasing population, it had erected chapels of ease, St. George's in Beekman Street, in 1752, and St. Paul's, on Vesey Street and Broadway, in 1766. The organization of Christ Church in 1793 was, therefore, naturally regarded as a schism. But gradually, as a result, apparently, of this schism, a new conception of its legal rights and moral obligations began to develop in the Trinity Corporation. In 1799, when the new St. Mark's Church was nearing completion, it was proposed to make it, instead of a chapel, a separate church, provided that were legal, and the question of the legality of such action was referred to Richard Harison and Alexander Hamilton. They reported favorably and St. Mark's Church was created and admitted into union with the Convention in 1802. At the same time Trinity withdrew its opposition to the admission of Christ Church as a separate parish. From that time onward for many years it was the policy of the Corporation to foster the growth of separate and independent churches. The Corporation appeared to regard itself as trustee of the church property, not for the one parish of Trinity merely, but for the Church as a whole, so that, as of right, when a new church was founded, some portion of its endowment was turned over to that church as its share of that property. The original charter of the church would seem to indicate that this was the proper view to take of the relation of Trinity Corporation to the Church in New York City at large, provided separate parishes were to be established in that territory. Trinity did not at that time abandon altogether the chapel plan, and indeed in 1807 it built the new and costly chapel of St. John;

but its general policy was to promote the growth of independent churches, and it even furthered the development of its own oldest chapel of St. George's into a separate church in 1811, giving it at the same time a very handsome land endowment.

By this time there were some nine parishes in New York, besides Trinity. In 1812 some members of St. Stephen's parish claimed the right to vote at the Trinity elections, and were refused. To prevent such claims in the future, and to validate its own act in alienating property to create separate parishes, Trinity applied to the Legislature in 1813 for a change of charter. Some of the Churchmen of New York entered a protest against such a change, but none of the separate parishes as such protested, and one, St. Mark's, formally endorsed Trinity's petition. By a tie vote in Council, the Chancellor deciding, Trinity's request was granted in 1814, and the corporate title changed to "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church in the City of New York," the grants made to separate parishes and the erection of St. George's into a separate parish validated, and the right to vote at Trinity elections confined to members of Trinity Church and Chapels. This was understood to be merely a matter of protection of property, however, and not a provision for an intended change of policy, and for many years thereafter Trinity in fact continued to foster the growth of independent churches, giving to each new church which was organized some lots of land or assistance in money or both. Later this policy was changed and the present policy adopted, which has looked first and foremost to the growth of Trinity Parish by the erection of new chapels. This change of policy was believed, by many, to be not only

morally, but also legally, indefensible and in 1846-47, and again after the erection of Trinity Chapel, in 1857 an effort was made by the rectors of the leading city churches and some of the broadest and most spiritually minded laymen, to have the law of 1814 repealed, that the matter of the control of the property and the manner of its use might be decided by the courts. Trinity was accused by them of abusing a trust intended for the Church at large, and especially of diverting the funds which should have been used in support of work among the spiritually and financially destitute to the erection and maintenance of luxuriously equipped chapels for its own wealthy members. As a matter of law Trinity won, the Legislature refusing to revoke the amendment of 1814, and thus deciding that the property belonged to Trinity Corporation as such and not to the Church in New York at large. But whatever the legal rights of the case may be, probably most thinking Churchmen outside of Trinity Corporation believe that the older policy was practically and morally correct, the policy which best carried out the intention of the original trust, and the policy best calculated to promote the interests of religion and of the Church in New York. There can be no question that much greater efficiency in church development and missionary work was obtained by the development of separate parishes. The huge accumulation of funds in the hands of one corporation has not tended to the promotion of aggressive spiritual activities. It is not the Trinity Chapels, but St. George's, Grace, St. Bartholomew's, Holy Communion, St. Thomas's, Calvary, and St. Michael's, to mention only a part, which have been the originators and promoters of the great spiritual, educational, and missionary movements in the

Church and city. Having entered upon a policy of self-aggrandizement, it became the policy of Trinity to add every few years a new chapel to its list, sometimes in the poorer regions where they were needed, but sometimes in the richest and best churchied sections of the city, and these latter were made twice as beautiful and costly as the former.

Instead of assisting weak churches, as formerly, to stand alone by gifts of land or money, it attached them to itself by loans or mortgages; and finally it began to annex them as chapels. An irresponsible and self-perpetuating corporation with an enormous and increasing revenue,¹ adding not churches to the diocese, but chapels to itself, Trinity is creating an *imperium in imperio*, which, ever increasing in size, threatens serious danger to the Church.

It will be observed that in Trinity's grant to St. Michael's, St. James's Church is also mentioned. In 1807 the city decided to improve the Common Lands, which included in general the region between 45th Street and 85th Street on the east side. In carrying out this plan there was laid out on paper a park, Hamilton Square, extending from Third Avenue to Fifth Avenue and from 66th Street to 69th Street, and on this park, on the very crest of York Hill, as the hill on the western end of which the old reservoir in Central Park now stands was called, at 69th Street and Lexington Avenue (Hamilton on the original map), they set apart a piece of ground "intended for a church or academy," which was to be the centre of a new village. Some of the gentlemen who had country seats along the East River, finding it difficult to attend

¹ Its income at the present time is estimated to be over \$800,000 a year.

church at St. Michael's and inspired by the example of the erection of the church in Bloomingdale, promptly organized and offered to take the plot marked in the map and build a church on it. Their offer was accepted, and in 1809 they began to petition Trinity, which gave them \$3000, and to collect money by subscription to erect a church, a plain wooden building with a belfry, very much like the old St. Michael's and St. Mary's. The church was consecrated May 17, 1810, and incorporated July 16th of the same year. The senior warden was Peter Schermerhorn, one of the original pewholders of St. Michael's, and Edward Dunscomb, Isaac Jones, and Joshua Jones, vestrymen or pewholders of St. Michael's, were prominent in its forwarding. Two days after its incorporation, July 18, 1810, the vestry of St. James's Church appointed a committee to solicit aid from Trinity, and as a matter of course received an endowment of land, consisting of four city lots, and a stipend or annuity, which, as already stated, for St. Michael's and St. James's together, amounted to \$500. Whether the suggestion of a union of the two churches originated with Trinity or with the gentlemen composing the vestries of St. Michael's and St. James's, I do not know, but steps were soon taken to unite them in support of one clergyman. This union did not actually become effective, however, until some time after the resignation of Rev. Mr. Bartow.

The latter presented his resignation on August 27, 1810, to take effect on September 12th. He left the church in fairly good condition financially, thanks to the donation from Trinity. The six lots granted to St. Michael's were by that time so leased as to bring in an income of about \$700 a year.¹ The pew rentals

¹ No. 73 Chambers Street was leased in 1810 at \$150 for twenty-

amounted to almost \$200, at least on paper. In that year also the Vestry began to utilize the land about the church for purposes of burial, but the income from this source is scarcely worth considering. Under date of September 8, 1809, there is notice in the minutes of a resolution to fine absentees from meetings \$1.00 each. Whether this was intended to add to the revenue or to ensure greater punctuality of attendance is not clear. Numerically the church was feeble, the first report to Convention, presented in 1810, showing that there were at that time only about fifty communicants, of whom, as is evident from later records, about thirty were summer residents, while the remainder resided in Bloomingdale all the year round. There were reported for the year ten baptisms, five marriages, and three funerals.

The committee appointed to select a new minister reported the name of Samuel Farmar Jarvis, and on November 17, 1810, he was appointed minister, or in the event of his receiving priest's orders, rector of St. Michael's Church at a salary of \$800 a year. There was no hurry about his reply, as the church would naturally be closed during the winter and his work would not commence until the spring. In the meantime steps were taken to combine the work of St. Michael's and St. James's. At a meeting of the Vestry of St. James's Church, January 11, 1811, a committee of one was appointed to prepare a letter to St. Michael's proposing a union of the two churches in the support of one clergyman. Mr. Jarvis is evidently informed of this, for in his letter of acceptance

one years and \$250 for the next twenty-one years, following the custom of ground leases prevailing for such property at that period, and 101 Vesey Street for twenty-one years at \$150.

of the call of St. Michael's Church, March, 22, 1811, which makes his acceptance depend upon his ordination to the priesthood, he refers to the possibility of an arrangement with St. James's also. Evidently, moreover, the salary proposed was not sufficient, for at a meeting on March 16, 1811, the Vestry of St. Michael's Church resolved to add to its former offer house rent at a rate not to exceed \$300. Mr. Jarvis "took possession of his cure" in April, having been ordained priest on the 5th of that month. In the report in the Convention Journal of 1811, he appears as rector of both St. Michael's and St. James's. In point of fact the final arrangement between the two churches for a joint rectorship was not consummated until 1813. There was a long period of haggling about terms. Under date of February 26, 1812, it is reported to St. James's vestry that an arrangement has been made with St. Michael's, by which the salary of Mr. Jarvis is to be \$1000, his allowance for horse hire \$100, for clerk, who was practically assistant to the rector, in keeping records, arranging funerals, and many other matters, besides leading the service in the church, \$100, for Mr. Jarvis's house rent \$300, and for salary of sexton \$75,¹ a total of \$1575, which was to be divided equally between the churches. But this arrangement made by its committee was not accepted by St. James's vestry. St. James's did not feel that it could pay more than \$600, and it wanted the services of the rector only from June 1st to November 1st, while St. Michael's wished his services all the year round.

¹ The salaries for clerk and sexton, \$100 and \$75, were the same as those paid at St. Mark's and St. Paul's, and seem to have been the usual salaries for such services at that time.

While these negotiations were in progress, St. Michael's Church applied to Trinity for an increased annual stipend, and in 1813 Trinity decided to raise the amount given to St. Michael's and St. James's annually from \$500 to \$700, in case they should continue united. On March 25, 1813, St. James's actually called Mr. Jarvis to be rector of that church in conjunction with St. Michael's. Trinity having now guaranteed \$700, the two churches together would be able, it was supposed, to give Mr. Jarvis a salary of \$1800. But, just as everything appeared to be settled, came another hitch. In July of that year a committee of St. James's vestry met Mr. Jarvis and offered him, as St. James's part of the salary, "the whole present income of the estate of St. James's Church." Mr. Jarvis declined such a contingent fee, if one may so call it, and returned the certificate of election. The vestry regretted his declination or resignation, but did not see that "in justice to the infant church it can offer Mr. Jarvis more than the actual revenue at its disposal." The vestry evidently did not propose to take active steps to increase the amount of their church's revenue, nor were the wardens and vestrymen willing to assume the responsibility of guaranteeing the salary originally proposed, which guarantee they might have to make good to the extent of \$10 or \$20 apiece.

Then ensued further conferences between the churches. Finally, on August 2, 1813, it was agreed that Mr. Jarvis, the rector of St. Michael's Church, shall be called to be rector of St. James's also, receiving from the same \$500 for an equal share of his services, and on September 20th a call was actually given to Mr. Jarvis on the above basis. But St. Michael's was unwilling to agree to this. If St. James's Church wished

to have an equal share of Mr. Jarvis's services, it must pay an equal part of his salary, namely, \$700. Finally, in October of that year, 1813, an arrangement was reached. Mr. Jarvis is to officiate at St. Michael's Church on Sunday mornings throughout the year and at St. James's Church on Sunday afternoons from the second Sunday in April to the second Sunday in November, and St. James's is to pay \$500 a year. If later St. James's wishes Mr. Jarvis's services in the winter also, then St. James's is to pay its proportionate share of the extra amount now to be paid by St. Michael's. The agreement was finally ratified on October 18, 1813, and services, which had been intermitted at St. James's, were resumed; but Mr. Jarvis did not technically become rector of the latter church until 1814, when he was formally instituted by the bishop. In the same year the two churches agreed to provide the salary of a common clerk, and from that date until 1842 St. Michael's and St. James's remained twin churches.

The first few years of Mr. Jarvis's rectorship are uneventful in the annals of St. Michael's. From the Vestry records it appears that a sun-dial was ordered erected in the churchyard in 1812. It is rather interesting to note that in the Convention of that same year, St. Michael's was one of the two churches whose laity voted against the resolution to declare Bishop Provoost not bishop. It will be remembered that after the Revolution Dr. Provoost was chosen rector of Trinity Church and first bishop of New York, probably largely because of his patriotism, he being one of the few clergy of the Church who had actively espoused the American cause. He was a learned man, a classical scholar, a bibliophile, and

a botanist, and socially one of the interesting figures of his day; but he was neither a strong Churchman nor a man of special evangelical zeal. He seems to have been content with a routine performance of his Episcopal duties and to have had no vision of the future of religion and the Church. In fact the outlook seemed to him discouraging, if not hopeless. With the dying out of the old colonial families he believed that the Episcopal Church would die out also. After the death of his wife, in 1801, at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine, he resigned his bishopric, and withdrew to the more congenial cultivation of his Linnæan farm in Dutchess County. His resignation was not accepted; nevertheless, as he refused to perform Episcopal functions, Dr. Benjamin Moore, who had already succeeded him as rector of Trinity, was elected and consecrated bishop in his stead. In 1811 Bishop Moore was smitten with paralysis, and Dr. Hobart was chosen coadjutor bishop. At this point Bishop Provoost unexpectedly reasserted his rights as bishop of the diocese, hence the resolution referred to. It should be added that, unless Bishop Provoost had joined in laying hands on Dr. Hobart's head, the requisite three bishops for his consecration could not have been brought together. The episode is worthy of record as illustrative of the condition of the Church and its extreme feebleness at that time.

The effect of the embargo in 1807, and the ensuing commercial war which culminated in actual war with England in 1812 (the embargoes and commercial war did not in fact come to an end until 1815) made itself increasingly felt in New York City as the years went on. From 1810 to 1815 the population of the city remained almost stationary. After 1811 for eight

years no Episcopal church was erected in the city. There is one curious record of the results of the War of 1812 in the records of St. Michael's Church. In 1819 the Vestry votes to repay Mr. Frederick DePeyster the sum of \$700 expended by him for a bell, remitting in addition the pew-rents then due by him. It appears that he had been authorized to purchase and import a bell for the church, that first in use having been presumably a cheap affair. The ship conveying the bell was captured by an English privateer and carried into Nova Scotia. After the war Mr. DePeyster bought the bell a second time, which so enhanced its original purchase price that in the end it cost the church somewhat more than \$1.00 a pound.

Doubtless many members of the church individually were effected by the war. From the records of the DePeyster family we learn that Mr. DePeyster's eldest son, James Ferguson, later vestryman, warden, and treasurer of the church, entered the army, becoming a captain in 1814. Another son, Frederick, Jr., later vestryman and clerk of the vestry, then a student in Columbia, helped erect the breastworks at the head of Manhattanville hill to protect Bloomingdale against invasion by the British.

In another direction the results of the war made themselves sadly manifest in the affairs of the church. The lessee of 73 Chambers Street, as a result apparently of the financial embarrassment of the time, defaulted on his rent and the property came back to the church; to be re-leased later for forty-two years at \$175 a year. Some of the pewholders defaulted on their pew-rents and in general there seems to have been a carelessness about their payments, so that finally, on May 3, 1815, it was voted to appoint a collector

to collect the pew-rents at \$30 a year or about twenty per cent. of their actual value. In 1816 it appears from the vestry minutes that the church is not meeting its obligations. There is a deficit of \$155.50. Accordingly it was voted to send a letter to the pewholders setting forth the financial conditions of the church:

Receipts: Ground rents of lots belonging to the church, \$727.50; amount of pew-rents the last year at \$5 each, \$150; collections, not exceeding \$50; total, \$927.50. Expenditures: Permanent expenses, including salary as well as rent, clerk and sexton's fees, \$1050; interest per year on loan from Bank of New York, \$33; total, independent of repairs and incidental expenses, \$1083, leaving an annual deficit of \$155.50, independent of repairs, fuel in the winter, and incidental claims.

In consequence of this statement it was voted that "the pew-rents should be doubled, a measure which will assist in removing the present embarrassment, and this information is given you in full persuasion that no objection can be made to a measure so absolutely necessary."

Mr. Jarvis's reports to Convention show that St. Michael's was in fact a feeble church. In 1811 he reported twenty communicants, who "reside out of town the whole year and therefore belong exclusively to that parish." In 1812 he reported thirty communicants in winter and fifty-four in summer and in the following year thirty-six in winter and fifty-seven in summer. But although few in number, many of the parishioners were wealthy. To be sure they counted their first obligation to their city churches, but even at that one is amazed at the small amount which they contributed, both for the church and for charitable purposes. So in 1816 the collection for the mission

fund in St. Michael's Church is reported as only \$12.50 and for the Episcopal Fund \$17.12½.

The financial embarrassment was not in fact wholly or perhaps primarily due to the war and the subsequent poverty and distress resulting therefrom. The Episcopalians of New York had learned to depend upon an establishment, and many years were to pass before they were trained to give out of their own pockets for the support of their churches and church work. Queen Anne's donation to Trinity Church, valuable as it was in securing a permanent endowment for many of the existing parishes of the city, exerted, on the other hand, a deadening influence on the pocket nerves of Churchmen where contributions for religious work were concerned. That they were not illiberal is proved from the fact that many of them were concerned in the establishment of orphan asylums, hospitals, and the like; but when it came to church work, they appeared to expect that to be provided for out of the endowment, and to feel no obligation to contribute liberally of their own means. Characteristic of this attitude is a resolution adopted at a vestry meeting held August 23, 1827, by which morning and evening collections were ordered to be discontinued, "as interrupting the solemnity of divine worship and generally unpleasant to the congregation."

Reference has been made to the small number of communicants in the church. In the early reports to the Convention there is no mention of persons confirmed in St. Michael's Church until 1835. In point of fact a relatively small number of the adult communicants of the church were confirmed in the earlier years of the century. Confirmation had been a practical impossibility during the colonial period, and

after the creation of the American Church, with its own bishops, it was a long time before people could be made to appreciate the need and obligation of that rite. During these years also Episcopal visitations were of necessity infrequent. The early bishops were rectors of parish churches, depending for their support principally upon their salaries as rectors and compelled to give the greater part of their time to parochial preaching and ministrations. Moreover, the dioceses were large in extent and the means of conveyance slow, inadequate, and expensive. In addition to New York Bishop Hobart had under his jurisdiction for some years New Jersey and Connecticut, and his Episcopal journeys even extended westward to Michigan. Under such conditions an Episcopal visitation could be expected by the smaller and more remote parishes only at rare intervals. Bishop Moore visited St. Michael's in 1809 and administered confirmation in that church. Five years later, in 1814, Bishop Hobart visited both St. Michael's and St. James's, instituting Mr. Jarvis as rector of the latter and confirming in both places. Many long years were to pass before it should become a practice annually to prepare candidates for confirmation and confirmation itself should assume its present important place in the eyes of the Church.

During the first years of his ministry Mr. Jarvis resided not in Bloomingdale, but in the city, at 490 Broadway. On September 26, 1815, an important move for the development of the parish was made, by the provision of a house for the rector in Bloomingdale. The Striker house, then occupied by Mrs. Marshall, was rented for two and a half years as a rectory, and the rent allowance paid the rector was

increased by \$50 to enable him to occupy that mansion.

Another important step in the development of the parish was the foundation of St. Michael's Charity School. It was at that time the custom for the churches of all denominations to conduct charity schools for the education of the poorer children in the rudiments of knowledge and religion. The first mention of such a school in connection with St. Michael's appears in Mr. Jarvis's report to the Diocesan Convention of 1815, that "a school has been established in which several poor children are educated at the expense of the parish." No mention of this school appears in the vestry records, however, until November 27, 1816, when it is resolved "to establish a Charity School and to solicit subscriptions for the same." The history of this school is narrated in the next chapter.

In his diocesan report of 1815 Mr. Jarvis states also that a school has been started near St. James's Church for blacks, in which there are upwards of thirty children. The colored population of New York at that time was relatively quite large. By an act passed in 1758 the children of slaves were made free, but slavery itself was not abolished until 1827, those who were minors at that time continuing slaves, however, until 1830. In the early part of the century domestic servants were exclusively, or almost exclusively, black slaves. Some of the entries in St. Michael's records are interesting, as showing the conditions then prevailing:

"Anthony, son of Catharine, a black woman, servant of Mr. McVickar, baptized by the Rev. Dr. Beach,¹ at Bloomingdale, August 6, 1809, Mrs. McVickar, sponsor."

¹ Assistant Minister of Trinity Church.

And among the entries of Mr. Jarvis's rectorship:

"John and Jane, both slaves of William A. Davis, married on Sunday evening, July 14, 1816, with the consent of their master and at the request of their mistress."

Besides these domestic slaves, there were also in parts of the city considerable colonies of free blacks. Some of these were very poor, existing on the border of vagrancy and crime. There was a settlement of these poor blacks at Yorkville, as the village which sprang up below Hamilton Square was called. Later we find a considerable number of colored people mingled with the poorer class of whites, living in the waste lands of what is now Central Park. To these from the outset it became the duty of the twin churches of St. Michael and St. James to minister.

It should perhaps be added that there was also a considerable number of highly self-respecting colored people in the city at that time, all or most of whom were by tradition Churchmen. So, in 1809, we find from the Convention Journal that "the Africans petitioned for the ordination of a person of color to take charge of a congregation of colored people." This was refused, but in 1810 a colored lay reader was provided. In 1819 this congregation had grown so important that St. Philip's Church for colored people was consecrated in Collect Street, the building having been erected principally by their own mechanics; and in 1821 Peter Williams, colored, was ordained deacon of that church.

With the election of Dr. Hobart as bishop,¹ the

¹ He was consecrated bishop-coadjutor May 29, 1811, and became the bishop of the diocese February 27, 1816, on the death of Bishop Moore.

Church in New York found a real leader and soon thereafter began to assume a more aggressive and a more missionary attitude. Before his ordination, while still assistant minister at Trinity, Dr. Hobart had begun to issue didactic treatises for the education of Churchmen, and had founded a periodical entitled *The Churchman's Magazine* for the same purpose. He was also one of the founders of the Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, and an active agent in the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Society, the intention of which was to spread Church principles and help to prepare ministers for the Church. He was a keen controversialist and engaged in numerous controversies, the most famous of which was with Dr. Mason, the Presbyterian president of Columbia College.

As bishop his forceful character and aggressive churchmanship soon made a marked impression on the Church and the community. It must be frankly confessed that in some points his churchmanship was distinctly narrow: so, in his Convention address of 1822, he opposes Bible societies not under the control of the Church, and urges Churchmen not to unite in the study or the circulation of the Bible with heretics. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the particular method which he pursued tended to the immediate increase of the Church, and even the exclusiveness which he displayed in urging her claims made a strong impression on men's minds. In 1816 William Richmond, then a law student at Schenectady, was brought into the Church by precisely this presentation of her claims and became a student of theology under Bishop Hobart's direction, with the English Fathers as his text-books; and this was only one case out of a

number. It should be added that Bishop Hobart was a man of intense missionary zeal and that his patriotism was as fervid as his churchmanship. Both of these things appealed strongly to the community and helped greatly in securing a favorable hearing for his views on ecclesiastical subjects. All in all he was admirably fitted to present the Church to the men of his day.

Bishop Hobart was early impressed with the need of establishing Church colleges and especially a theological school for the purpose of training young men for the ministry. He undertook to establish such a school in New York, and in this undertaking he found an active supporter in the rector of St. Michael's and St. James's, and a willing co-operation on the part of the vestries of those churches, who granted Mr. Jarvis a leave of absence in 1817 to collect funds for the proposed Theological Seminary. Mr. Jarvis was rapidly becoming a man of prominence in the Church, and when, in the autumn of the same year, Dr. Berrian, rector of Trinity Church, was granted a leave of absence, he and Mr. Johnston of Newtown were engaged to officiate in that parish on Sunday afternoons for six months during his absence. In the following year he was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, and in 1819 he was appointed professor of biblical learning in the new General Theological Seminary in New York, for which he had helped to collect the funds. On May 22d, of that year he resigned his rectorship of St. Michael's and St. James's, to take effect, as far as salary was concerned, on the first day of April preceding. He continued, however, to serve both churches, pending the appointment of a successor, until June 1820, in connection, apparently,

with his professorial duties at the General Seminary, and his salary as rector was in fact continued until that date. His additional duties do not seem to have resulted in a diminution of his parochial labors. In 1817 he appears to have commenced evening services in St. Michael's, which, with the afternoon service at St. James's, made three services a Sunday. In 1819 he began a work of church extension, holding occasional services and administering on one occasion the sacrament of baptism at the schoolhouse in Fort Washington, and holding services at the house of Mrs. Finlay in Manhattanville, both settlements of poor people. It is worth noting that this commencement of missionary activities by the rector of St. Michael's parish immediately followed the establishment in the diocese at large of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society, founded to support Bishop Hobart's efforts to plant the Church in the newly settled western portion of the State. Parish and diocese were both beginning to awake to their opportunity and their obligation.

Dr. Jarvis was a devoted and extremely conscientious parish priest. He tried to fulfil precisely the duties which canons and rubrics prescribed. He was evidently held in high affection and esteem by his parishioners, and on March 25, 1820, the Vestry of St. Michael's voted the sum of \$250 to be invested in a service of plate, to be given to him, as a token of gratitude for his services and of regard for his character. That their sentiments were genuine and lasting is shown by the way in which many years afterwards, when the news of the death of their former rector reached the parish, a special meeting of the vestry was convened to pass appropriate resolutions of sympathy and regret.

CHAPTER III

Covers the First Rectorship of the Rev. William Richmond and the Rectorship of the Rev. James Cook Richmond, 1820-1842, Including also the History of St. Michael's Charity School.

THANKS to the willingness of Dr. Jarvis to continue his services at St. Michael's and St. James's, after his formal resignation and his appointment to a professorship in the Theological Seminary, there was no vacancy between his departure and the accession of his successor. A committee of the two churches, appointed to select a joint rector, extended an invitation, May 24, 1820, to the Rev. William Richmond, then of Philadelphia, to become their minister, and, in the event of his receiving priest's orders, their rector, at a salary of \$1500, including the grant of \$700 from Trinity Church, each of the two churches undertaking to pay an equal share of the remainder. Mr. Richmond's acceptance is dated June 3, 1820, and he actually assumed charge at the close of the same month, Dr. Jarvis's last service dating June 21st.

At the time of Mr. Richmond's accession New York had ceased to feel the evil results of the War of 1812, and a new period of industrial and commercial prosperity had set in. In 1816 the first line of packets was started, establishing a regular connection between New York and the old world. In 1817 the Erie Canal was begun, which, completed in 1825, by establishing

water communication with the Great Lakes and the West, gave New York that commercial supremacy which she has ever since maintained and increased. The city had begun to spread northward, and in 1823 it was necessary to remove the Potter's Field from Washington Square, where it was estimated that, up to that time, 125,000 strangers had been interred, to Bryant Square. It had also begun to accumulate wealth, and to make itself more comfortable in its municipal and domestic arrangements. Even Bloomingdale began to feel the effects of the new era of progress. In 1819 a stage line was established, connecting it with the city, the stages starting from Tryon Row, by Chambers Street, every forty minutes and ending their journey at Manhattanville, where Mr. Schieffelin, with his brothers-in-law, Lawrence and Buckley, had laid out a village and commenced to sell lots for houses. Bloomingdale had also been selected by the New York Hospital Society as the location for the great new asylum for the insane, which was completed in 1821, occupying the present site of Columbia University. The church records show, also, the advent of new families who had built or acquired country seats in Bloomingdale; but of this hereafter.

As already pointed out, the effects of the aggressive leadership of Bishop Hobart were beginning to be felt in the Diocese of New York, and especially in the Church in New York City. Between 1811 and 1820 no new churches had been organized or built in that city. In the latter year St. Luke's parish was organized and in the following year a church built on Hudson Street. In 1822 a new building was erected for Christ Church. In 1823 St. Thomas's Church was organized; and from that time on almost every year witnessed the

organization of a new parish or the erection of a new church. In 1819 Sunday-schools are first mentioned in the Convention Journal.¹ By 1822 it appears, from the same source, that Sunday-schools are in operation in a number of the New York parishes; and by 1827 a general Episcopal Sunday-school Union has been formed, with plans of instruction and text-books in preparation. This, like Bishop Hobart's work in general, was regarded with suspicion by the Low Churchmen of the dioceses farther southward. Bishop Hobart, on his part, regarded their churchmanship with equal apprehension, and in his Convention address of 1827 he took occasion to condemn the extreme Low-Church movement then in progress in Philadelphia. It was the day of party strife within and without the Church.

There had been a controversy between Bishop Hobart and the General Convention with regard to the establishment of a theological seminary. Bishop Hobart desired to have the seminary in New York, and to establish it on churchly lines. Unless he could establish it on such lines he preferred to maintain his own school; and he did, in fact, at the outset, establish his own theological seminary in New York City, with a branch at Geneva, where he also founded an academy, and then, in 1822, a college (now Hobart College). As the Church could not support a general seminary without New York, so it was obliged finally to accept

The Sunday School was yet upon trial, and was on the whole more secular than religious. The New York Sunday School Society was founded through Bishop Hobart in 1817 for the purpose of introducing Church doctrine in the place of "non-sectarian" instruction. Later the Sunday School came into great favor with the Evangelicals; and in 1853 Bishop Doane of New Jersey attacks it as destructive of home training of children.—McCONNELL, *History of the American Church*.

his terms, and his theological school in New York became in fact the General Theological Seminary. Under Bishop Hobart's lead, the Church in New York was advancing by leaps and bounds, while elsewhere it was almost stationary.

Attention has already been called to Bishop Hobart's missionary work and the organization of the New York Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society. The latter played an important part in arousing and organizing the missionary spirit among the various parishes of the diocese. Branches were organized in several of the city churches—Grace, Zion, Christ, St. John's and St. Paul's Chapels,—and the sum of \$1000 annually, which was considerable for the Church of that day (a missionary's salary was only \$150), was thus contributed to provide missionaries for the outlying parts of the State. The Church at large also was beginning to awake to its missionary responsibilities, and at the General Convention of 1822 the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was organized.

It was at the middle of Bishop Hobart's episcopate, when he was just beginning to reap the results of his toil, that his former pupil, Mr. Richmond, entered upon his duties at St. Michael's. Like his teacher he, too, was full of the missionary spirit, but unlike him, he never showed any interest in theological controversy and took no part in partisan strife. He had been for eighteen months a missionary in Pennsylvania; and, from the outset, he regarded his work at St. Michael's from the missionary rather than the parochial view-point. The field to which he was called to minister was, in his understanding, not merely the small congregations of St. Michael's and St. James's, but the whole territory from 14th Street on the south to St.

Peter's, Westchester, and St. John's, Yonkers, on the north.

There was no case of distress or sickness occurring in the region which extended as far up as the Harlem River and in the lower part of what was then Westchester County, which failed to meet a personal response from Mr. Richmond. He was sometimes profuse, but never lacking in his supply of the wants of the destitute, and many a humble home was blest by his frequent ministrations at the time of illness and death. . . . It was his usage to hold services here and there in private houses, where he could thus reach those who gave distance from church as an excuse for their non-attendance, or who were too careless and unconcerned to present themselves at stated worship.¹

Wherever there was a settlement within this region, he proceeded as soon as practicable to organize a new church. There was at Manhattanville a hamlet of about fifteen houses, the centre of a somewhat larger population, chiefly of poor people. Here, as already stated, Dr. Jarvis had held an occasional service. Mr. Richmond carried on his work, first by holding more frequent services, and, finally, by organizing a parish, which was incorporated in 1824. Mr. Jacob Schieffelin, one of the original pewholders and vestrymen of St. Michael's having given the land for the erection of a church building, St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, was built and consecrated in 1826.

There was another hamlet of poor people farther north at Fort Washington. Here, also, Dr. Jarvis had held occasional services. Mr. Richmond began a regular mission in the Fort Washington school-house, after-

¹ From a note to a sermon of Rev. C. B. Smith, D.D., preached on the seventieth anniversary of the founding of St. James's.

wards destroyed by fire, finally organizing St. Ann's Church, which was incorporated in 1827. In both these enterprises he had the support and active co-operation of St. Michael's parish, the wardens and vestrymen of the latter serving as officers of the new churches and otherwise assisting Mr. Richmond in his work. It must be added, however, that there were some members of the congregation to whom this broad policy of church extension appeared objectionable. They were afraid that, by the erection of new churches, the strength of the original parish would be diminished, since those residing in the neighborhood of the new church would naturally attend and support that. Mr. Richmond's answer always was: "For every one leaving my church there will be eight or ten in the new church, and thus the Church at large is strengthened rather than made weak; and besides, every congregation becomes at once a centre of charity and good works, and therefore the poor are benefited."¹

On the east side of Mr. Richmond's parish two more considerable settlements existed, the one, Harlem, very old, the latter, Yorkville, of recent creation. A missionary school work had been commenced among the colored people in Yorkville during the rectorship of Mr. Jarvis. As the place increased in size, there came to be a considerable population of white people at this point. These were of a different class from the attendants at St. James's Church, and partly for that reason and partly because of the distance they were unwilling to attend the services in the parish church. Apparently it was with a view to providing for these villages that, in 1826, Mr. Richmond proposed to the vestry of St. James's to open that church twice on Sun-

¹ *Northender*, 1867.

day instead of once, as heretofore. The next year, the winter of 1827-28, the church was open through the winter for the first time. To enable him to do this additional work the vestries of the two churches voted to authorize him to engage an assistant, St. Michael's providing that Mr. Richmond should himself find said assistant's salary, and St. James's, as more immediately concerned, voting him \$100 to be used for that purpose. Mr. Richmond engaged as his assistant Rev. E. D. Griffin, in 1827, and as, in spite of all his efforts, the people of Yorkville would not come to St. James's, he went to them, first holding mission services in such rooms as he could secure, and finally, in 1828, organizing a church in that village. In the following year with the Rev. Mr. Hinton, whom he had engaged as an assistant for this purpose, he organized St. Andrew's Church, Harlem. This church became at once self-supporting, maintaining its own rector; the others remained dependencies of St. Michael's during Mr. Richmond's first rectorship. A further history of the organization of all these churches and some account of their later development will be found in another chapter.

While Mr. Richmond was thus engaged in extending the work of the Church over a larger area and establishing new parishes to cover the upper part of the city, St. Michael's Church was showing signs of internal progress. In 1820 a school site, consisting of a little over an acre of land with a small house, situated at 103d and 104th Streets near Amsterdam Avenue, on what was then Clendening Lane, was leased, and finally, in 1825, purchased for \$237; but of the history and maintenance of this school hereafter. In 1823 the church increased the salary of the rector by \$150,

on the occasion of his marriage, and in addition paid \$50 to Rev. Manton Eastburn, later Bishop of Massachusetts, for assistance rendered to Mr. Richmond, apparently in connection with the same event. About this time St. Mark's and others of the city churches were introducing organs, and in 1823 St. Michael's Vestry voted to do the same. The organ and a gallery at the west end of the church to contain the same were finally completed in 1825, the gallery at an expense of \$219.50 and the organ at a cost of \$325, the mason work, etc., amounting to \$32.38 extra. The introduction of an organ meant a radical change and a vast improvement in the method of conducting the service. Clerks still continued to be appointed until 1833, to lead the responses, but the musical part of the services was placed in the hands of a choirmaster and organist, at first volunteers, and then salaried employees of the Church.¹

In spite of the extra expense of building the organ and gallery, which was met in part by a subscription, the treasurer's report in that year shows a balance on the credit side of \$81.43, the receipts amounting to \$1886 and the expenditures to \$1804.82. This report was presented at the annual meeting, April 8, 1825. A little more than two months later, July 16th, 1825, a special meeting of the Vestry was called at the office of the secretary, Mr. Frederick DePeyster, Jr., 24

¹ The first organist at St. Michael's appears to have been Miss Emeline Davis, daughter of William A. Davis, one of the wardens of the church. Her services were voluntary, and ceased, apparently, in 1831, some time after her marriage to Dr. A. V. Williams, then a vestryman. On the 24th of June of that year the Vestry voted a testimonial, not to exceed \$100, to Mrs. A. V. Williams, for "superintending the choir for several years." The first mention of a salary for an organist occurs in 1839, when \$102 is appropriated for that purpose.

Broad Street, to consider the following resolutions passed by the vestry of Trinity Church:

Resolved: That the annual allowance to St. Michael's Church be hereafter restricted to the difference between the sum of Seventeen Hundred dollars, and the aggregate amount of the Rents which are now payable, or which hereafter on any renewal of the Leases may become payable, on the six lots of land heretofore granted to that Church, and on the four lots of land heretofore granted to St. James' Church, and when and as soon as the said Rents shall aggregately amount to Seventeen Hundred dollars, that the said Annual allowance to St. Michael's Church be wholly discontinued.

This would have meant an immediate reduction of the grant to St. James's and St. Michael's from \$700 to \$350 or \$300, and as the receipts and expenditures in both churches very nearly balanced, there would have been a deficit of some \$300 to make good for the current year. A committee of three was appointed to confer with a similar committee to be appointed by St. James's Church, and the following memorial, which is worthy of printing in full, because of its reference to the history of the Church and its general exposition of the conditions of the parish as then existing, was adopted by that committee and presented to the corporation of Trinity Church on the 12th of December following:

MEMORIAL

*To the Right Rev. the Rector, Church Wardens, & Vestrymen
of Trinity Church.*

GENTLEMEN:

We the undersigned appointed by the respective Vestries

of St. Michael's Church Bloomingdale, and St. James's Hamilton Square to address your respectable body, on the subject of your Resolution relative to the present curtailment, and eventual recall of the Donation, made by Trinity Corporation to the said Churches, and to pray for a reconsideration of the same.

Respectfully Represent

That the first intimation of the said Resolution as entered on the minutes of your meeting of the 13th June last, was on the quarterly application of the Treasurer of the former Church to the Comptroller of your Board, sometime subsequent to its adoption: and that in consequence of the lateness of the then unofficial communication of a matter so materially affecting the existing engagements of the said Churches with their Rector; their present integrity; and future prospects; the opportunity was lost of urging their claims to a continuance of your patronage, and of explaining their actual situation, previous to any definite decision by your Vestry in their case.

It is therefore to both of these points of view, the undersigned beg leave earnestly to solicit your serious attention; and in submitting the following statement in reference thereto, we confidently trust that the appeal predicated thereof, and which is now made to the Justice and Maternal piety of Trinity Church, will upon a review of the whole subject, lead to the rescinding of a Resolution fraught with such evil consequences to the Churches we represent; to the very cause, she herself, as the head and life of this diocese, has in hand; and in opposition to the sacred benefits of which fortune has made her the guardian, as well as the dispenser.

It is deemed unnecessary to detail here the nature and extent of the relief granted prior to the 1st of February 1813. It is sufficient for us to acknowledge its liberality and important consequences.

By a resolution of that date, exclusive of donations of

\$700 towards the payment of the debts of St. Michael's Church, and of \$800 to St. James' Church, to "satisfy its necessities;" an additional donation was granted to the former, for the specific purpose of supporting the Minister; on the condition however that the Churches should remain united. And from your minutes of 12th February 1816, it appears that the allowances granted to the different Clergy and Congregations on this Island, not belonging to Trinity Church Corporation, were continued until the further order of your Vestry.

On the faith of this grant the 2 Churches entered into engagements with the present Rector; Whatever is therefore deducted from the donation is subtracting from his Salary; since their incidental expenses, and the requisite repairs of the buildings, with allowance of the Clerk & Sextons, will for a length of time amount to if not exceed, any surplus funds in their respective treasuries, and put it out of their power to make good the deficiency. As it is we are informed, that the Rector's Salary is barely sufficient for his support, and is altogether disproportioned to that given to the majority of the Clergy of this City; besides the withholding of this aid took place during the existence of the annual donation, and is likely therefore to put the Rector to great inconveniences, resulting from engagements predicated of its continuance for the year at least: and of the present deduction from which he was not advised, and which he could not anticipate.

Doubts are said to exist in the minds of some of your Vestry, and are openly avowed, we greatly regret to learn, as to the practical benefits consequential upon the continuance of St. Michael's and St. James' Congregations, as such.

We are the more surprised at these suggestions, as we feel fully persuaded that the advantages resulting from these Establishments, are progressively increasing, and that their existence is loudly demanded by the growing

population, and unparalleled extension of the City. We cherish with grateful pleasure the recollection of the pious concern that originally dictated the erection of these Churches; where the fugitives from the pestilence, which then closed the Sanctuaries of Episcopal Worship; the neighbouring poor; and the piously inclined: could worship the God of their Fathers after their own peculiar Communion; and we admire the foresight of the original projectors of a plan, matured by your predecessors in office, supported by the late and present head of the Diocese themselves, and hitherto fostered by the spontaneous generosity of Trinity Corporation.

These infant Establishments we are confident will be the means of more widely disseminating the doctrines of the Church, and of laying the corner stone for other and similar erections on this part of the Island; and we are therefore the more desirous that the foundations already laid, may be strengthened to enable them to maintain their present "Vantage ground," and to conduct to maturity under your favouring auspices, an experiment so happily tested, and of such essential results to their respective congregations, and to the community at large, for at present about fifty families attend the services of these Churches; most of whom would if they were closed altogether neglect Divine Worship or stray into other places not Episcopal, besides the inconvenience, if not impracticability which would be generally felt (should such an event through the want of your pecuniary assistance happen) of educating in the doctrines of the Church the junior Members, who now attend upon its Services.

The Congregation of St. Michael's Church has for some years past supported a Charity School principally by Subscription; in which about 40 poor Children of parents not generally in communion with our Church have been instructed in its doctrines and discipline, as well as in other branches of Education. And it is greatly to be

feared that the effect of the Resolution referred to (if acted upon) will be to discontinue this School. This Congregation has also lately purchased an Organ with the aid of voluntary Subscriptions; which has been found a beneficial supplement to the divine services of the Church, in fixing the attention and animating the devotion of the Congregation.

Probably half of the Freeholders of St. Michael's and all but one of St. James'; also hold pews in Churches in the lower parts of the City, and contribute there their full proportion towards the same, and the many charitable objects and Institutions supported by the friends of Episcopacy generally. But independently of the considerations above presented, if a deduction is to be carried into effect, we firmly hope and intreat that the Churches we represent may not be made the Sufferers for the advantage of others, or to add to their resources by the contraction of that munificence which has hitherto sustained St. Michael's and St. James'; and without which they must wither and decay; and if some reduction is indispensably demanded to give to each according to its just and merited claims, and to extend a fostering hand to the Churches generally on the Island, that such a deduction may embrace all without distinction, and may not be made by the invidious sacrifice of a few. Against such a decision there could properly neither be murmur or complaint.

Whilst therefore the Churches and Congregations generally on the Island, not of Trinity Corporation, are indebted to the liberal patronage which has been extended in common towards them; we can indulge in the pleasing reflection that the individual Churches in whose behalf the appeal is now made, present their claims to your favorable notice under the sanction of the additional and privileged character of lawful Children of a wealthy and impartial parent, soliciting from her that pecuniary relief which has hitherto been their support, and which we flatter ourselves

will be continued to them, distributively with her other and adopted Children.

New York September 1825.

Signed.

WM. WEYMAN,	}	<i>Committee of St. Michael's Church.</i>
N. SCOVELL,		
JAMES F. DEPEYSTER,		
MARTIN HOFFMAN,	}	<i>Committee of St. James' Church.</i>
DAVID WAGSTAFF,		
EDWARD R. JONES.		

It should be said, that for some years Trinity Corporation had found itself pecuniarily embarrassed. Mention of this is made in successive Convention reports, commencing about 1818. In 1822 attention is called to the fact that the new Christ Church was built without assistance from Trinity, because the latter Corporation was too straitened to grant such assistance. Withdrawal of the annual donation to St. Michael's and St. James's was part of a policy of retrenchment, although several churches, which one would have thought better able to take care of themselves, continued to be assisted to a much later date, such as St. Stephen's, Zion, St. Thomas's, St. Andrew's, and others. The result of the memorial was that Trinity Corporation voted to continue the original appropriation for the current year, ending April 1, 1826, making the reduction commence with the following year. In point of fact, beginning on that date, the Trinity grant was diminished more than one-half, and by 1832 ceased altogether.

One immediate result of the withdrawal of the Trinity subsidy was the closing of St. Michael's Charity School, or rather the transfer of that school to the New York Public School Society. As already stated, it was, in the commencement of the nineteenth century,

regarded as the duty of churches of different denominations to provide schools for the instruction of the poor in the principles of religion and knowledge; but, as it proved that there were many who could not go to pay schools and for whom no provision was made in these denominational schools, because they did not belong to the denominations maintaining the schools, therefore, the New York Free School Society was incorporated in 1805, to provide schools for those for whom no provision was made at that time, and the first school of this Society was opened in 1807.¹ While this society was professedly undenominational and while there were among its supporters members of various denominations, the real credit for the movement belongs to the Friends. The Society's schools were eleemosynary, and, besides knowledge, clothes, food, and the like were distributed to the children. Largely as a result of this movement, both state and city began to contribute toward the support of public education in 1807, the money appropriated for this purpose from the excise tax, lotteries, and the like, being given to this society, along with the New York Orphan Asylum and a couple of other more limited organizations. While the schools of the Society were undenominational, arrangements were made in all of them for the religious instruction of the children. At one time the children went to the churches of their respective denominations with their monitors. At another time a committee of women taught the catechisms of the various denominations to the children in their respective schools on Tuesday afternoons. The method of instruction pursued in these schools was what was called the Lancasterian, or Monitorial sys-

¹ According to Palmer, *The New York Public School*, in 1806, in Madison Street, near Pearl.

tem, which was economical, in that it required few teachers in proportion to the number of children, and was supposed to be especially efficient, because the children who were monitors enjoyed a peculiar opportunity to perfect their knowledge by teaching others, while the younger children were supposed to learn better from one of their own number than from an adult teacher.

In 1812 an act was passed apportioning the school fund not only to the schools of the Free School Society, the New York Orphan Asylum and other organizations theretofore receiving assistance from that source, but also "to such incorporated religious societies in said city as now support or hereafter shall establish charity schools within the said city who might apply for the same," the money so appropriated to be used, however, only for teachers' salaries. This was a recognition of the charity schools maintained by the different churches and which had, up to this time, been supported by the private contributions of the members of those churches. It was also an inducement to other churches to establish such schools.

Payments under this act began in 1815 and in that year we find the first mention in the report to Convention of a charity school in connection with St. Michael's Church. This was, however, at that time, apparently a very insignificant thing, a personal venture of the rector, Mr. Jarvis. The following year the matter was taken up by the Vestry, and, at a meeting held November 27, 1816, the following resolutions were passed:

That Whereas by the Fourth Section of an Act Supplementary to an Act for the establishment of Common Schools, passed March 12, 1812, by the Legislature of

this State, it is provided that the School Commissioners appointed by the Common Council of the City of New York shall on or before the 1st day of May in each year, distribute and pay the monies appropriated by said Act, to the support of Common Schools in said City to the Trustees of such incorporated religious Societies in said City, as now support or hereafter shall establish Charity Schools within the said City who may apply for the same, and such distribution shall be made to each School, in proportion to the average number of children between the ages of four and fifteen years, taught there in the year preceding such distribution free of expense.

And Whereas it is further provided That no money shall be distributed by the Commissioners aforesaid to the Trustees of such Charity Schools as shall not have been kept for the term of at least 9 months, during the year preceding such distribution as aforesaid.

Therefore be it *Resolved* by the Rector, Wardens & Vestrymen of St. Michael's Church Bloomingdale, that they will establish a Charity School, to be known and distinguished by the name of "St. Michael's Charity School," of which the Rector, Wardens & Vestrymen of said Church for the time being shall be Trustees, and that they will take immediate measures for the erection of a suitable house, for the accommodation of the teacher & family, as well as for that of the Children, and also for the support of the teacher, for one year agreeably to the provisions of the act.

Resolved further that a subscription paper be presented in the name of the Corporation of St. Michael's Church to the members of the Congregation, & to all other charitable individuals, who may be disposed to aid so benevolent a design, that the Rev. Rector and Wm. Weyman be appointed a Committee to carry these resolutions into effect.

From a report made to the Vestry, April 11, 1818,

it seems that this school was, in fact, organized May 6, 1817, with Mr. William Morgan as teacher, at a salary of \$400; and that from subscription list and communion alms \$260 had been raised for the support of the school. The school sessions lasted through the entire year and were divided into four quarters. During the first quarter, May to August, the number of scholars is reported as 26, 18 boys and 8 girls; for the second quarter, August to November, 30 scholars, 21 boys and 9 girls; for the third quarter, November 1817 to February 1818, 44 scholars, 28 boys and 16 girls, and for the fourth quarter 45 scholars, 29 boys and 16 girls.

In 1817 the vestry of St. James's Church also voted to organize a Charity School and appointed a committee to raise funds. It would appear, however, from the Convention reports, that while Mr. Jarvis conducted a school for the blacks in Yorkville, no parish charity school was at that time established in connection with St. James's. In 1822, after Mr. Richmond became rector, the Vestry petitioned the city corporation for a gift of land for an "Academy or Free School." Apparently their request was refused, for in the following year the school committee was authorized to lease ground east of the church. In 1825 the school committee reports itself unable to make further progress, and is discharged, and a new committee appointed, which is authorized to lease land and build a school. Evidently up to this time no school had been established. In the following year the committee again reported no progress, and was authorized to enlarge itself by adding to its number from the neighbors not members of the Church. With this change the matter passed out of the control of the vestry and became a

neighborhood affair, and on this basis Mr. Richmond finally succeeded in establishing the Yorkville School on 86th Street, between 4th and 5th avenues.¹ He was for a long time the most active trustee of this school and for some years its treasurer; his principal supporter in the work being Dr. A. V. Williams of St. Michael's Vestry. Mr. Richmond also extended his educational activities to Manhattanville, receiving the same intelligent support from a few members of St. Michael's Vestry, notably Dr. Williams. On the very day on which St. Mary's Church was fully organized by the election of Mr. Richmond as rector, Dec. 27, 1823, it was resolved to establish the Free School of St. Mary's Church in the village of Manhattanville, and under the act of legislature of March 28, 1820, a claim was made upon the trustees of the Harlem Commons Fund for \$2500 for that purpose, and, in the following year, it was voted that the school should be open equally to all denominations. The Manhattanville school was, in fact, established on the same basis as the Yorkville school, as a neighborhood enterprise, under trustees, and open to all denominations. Referring to the attitude assumed by Mr. Richmond, with Dr. Williams and his other supporters, in both those enterprises, a writer in the local paper, the *Northender*, in 1867, says:

In the Ward Board of School Officers and in the Board of Education, as also in other Departments connected with the general diffusion of knowledge, the members of this congregation have always favored a general plan, distinguished from a narrow and sectarian course of education, as the correct policy of liberal Christians and legal American citizens.

¹ It was destroyed in the draft riots of July, 1863.

These two schools were finally discontinued after many years of usefulness, when the general school system of the city was extended to the Yorkville and Manhattanville districts.

St. Michael's Charity School had a somewhat different history. The distribution of the public funds to religious organizations finally resulted in sectarian strife. In 1822 the trustees of the Bethlehem Baptist Church in DeLancey Street obtained from the Legislature a special act authorizing them to use any surplus from their appropriation for the instruction of teachers, erection of buildings, etc. This was regarded as an effort to obtain an increased appropriation for the benefit of the sectarian propaganda of that church, to enable it to enlarge its plant and in other ways promote its distinctly religious work. The Free School Society, with a number of the other churches, petitioned the Legislature to repeal the bill, and a factional and sectarian fight resulted. Finally, in 1824, the Legislature placed the matter of the distribution of the school funds in the hands of the Common Council of New York, and in the following year the Common Council passed an ordinance providing that no appropriation should be made from those funds to religious societies. While not affecting the Yorkville and Manhattanville Schools, this meant the discontinuance of St. Michael's Charity School, which depended in large part on the public appropriation. Heretofore the Vestry had appropriated each year a small sum to make up the deficiency not provided for by subscription, but, with the discontinuance of the Trinity donation, the Vestry would be unable to make any appropriation for such a purpose, much less to carry the whole burden of the school.

A committee of the Vestry was at once appointed to

confer with the trustees of the New York Free School Society, and in the following year an arrangement was entered into with that society "to have the school attached to this parish kept open, as usual, but under the direction of the trustees of the Public Schools,¹ who had provided a tutor and superintended his duties; that this committee had further agreed with the trustees to continue the school in the same manner, provided they did the like on their part by gratuitously furnishing the preceptor and attending to the performance of his duties." This arrangement was reported to the vestry meeting of December 21, 1826, but it had already gone into effect some time before that date, Mr. Morgan, the teacher of the school having resigned on April 1st of that year. Mention is made of this transaction in the minutes of the Public School Society of New York, May 12, 1826, in which the school is described as being "about six miles from this city attached to St. Michael's Church." It appears from the record that the trustees of the society felt a certain moral responsibility in regard to this school, as they had been chiefly responsible for the cutting off of public moneys from Church schools, and at the same time, as it contained no more than sixty children of both sexes, its maintenance was regarded as "a very considerable tax on the funds of the Society." With the change of control the name was changed from St. Michael's Charity School to Public School No. 9, and St. Michael's School was, therefore, directly the parent of our present Public School No. 9. For the first few years after the change the school seems to have been continued in the same place or neighbor-

¹ In 1826 the name of the New York Free School Society was changed to the Public School Society of New York.

hood as before; but in 1830 a new building was erected on 82nd Street, and what is now West End Avenue, about midway between the two Bloomingdale centres at St. Michael's and the Bloomingdale Reformed Church, and to this building the school was removed in 1830.

It may be added that the same denominational difficulties which had caused the withdrawal of public appropriations from church schools, ultimately led to their withdrawal from the trustees of the New York Public School Society also. That organization, while nominally undenominational, was thoroughly Protestant. With the increase of foreign immigrants of Roman Catholic connection in the city, the latter began to demand a share of the school fund for their schools. The first fight was waged over the Orphan Asylum in 1831, the Roman Catholics demanding that their orphan asylum should be placed on the same footing as the Protestant institution. A decade later they demanded an appropriation for their parochial schools, alleging with considerable justice the denominational and sectarian character of some of the text-books used in the public schools of that day. Finally in 1842, as a result of their demands, the State Common School system was extended to New York City, and the public appropriation to private schools withdrawn altogether. For the next few years the city had two systems of public schools, those under the care of the trustees of the New York Public School Society, which continued to be maintained by private subscription, and those directly under the authority of the State. At last in January, 1853, the two systems were united in our present public school system.

The withdrawal of the annual Trinity donation,

while for a time it hampered the parish, causing also the abandonment of the charity school, proved ultimately to be a blessing in disguise. Forced to provide for itself and not to depend upon others, the parish did not "wither and decay," as the memorialists had feared it would, but grew and thrived. Successive treasurers' reports (and the treasurer, Mr. James F. DePeyster, was a very careful manager, to whom is due much credit for the financial soundness of the church), show that the church managed to maintain a balance between receipts and expenditures, generally with a very small margin of credit. But at the same time the regular expenses of the church were not curtailed. Little by little the salary of the rector was increased and various repairs and improvements made as occasion demanded. The main support of the church was the income from the Trinity endowment which, in spite of the long leases, was gradually increasing. In 1817, it is true the Vestry had decided to double the pew-rents; but apparently the pewholders had refused to consent; for, in 1836, we find the Vestry again voting to increase the pew rentals to \$10. But if the amount contributed for the support of its own services was not all that could be desired, apparently a more healthy sense of responsibility for the work of the Church was being developed in the congregation. In 1835 Mr. Richmond reports to Convention a contribution of \$2000 from the church for special objects, presumably the new free church work which he was about to start, and in 1840 Rev. James Richmond reports \$1933 contributed for Jubilee College, which Bishop Chase was just founding in Illinois.

In 1830 Bishop Onderdonk succeeded Bishop Hobart as Bishop of New York, and with his consecration a new

era commenced in the church work of New York City and St. Michael's parish. Up to this time the Episcopal Church in New York had been the church of the rich and fashionable, and while charity schools were conducted in a number of parishes for the children of the poorer classes, there was no place in the parish churches for clerks, mechanics, artisans, and the like, much less for the very poor. With the increase of the city many young men, sometimes with their families, were flocking in from other places, who, finding no church home to welcome them, became careless or drifted away from the Church and religion altogether. If these persons were to be reached it was plain that something must be provided different from our churches as then organized.

To meet this want the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society was founded in 1831, with the Bishop of the Diocese as its head, the Rector of Grace Church as chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Vicar of St. John's Chapel as secretary. The purpose of this society was to provide "free sittings in mission churches for a large class of Episcopalians and others disposed to become members of the Church, who were at that time virtually excluded from parish churches, the class referred to comprising the families of poorer mechanics, widows, merchants' clerks, journeymen, apprentices, domestics and others unable to pay for sittings, besides strangers, emigrants, etc."¹ The society "applied for and received from the Legislature an unusually liberal charter," leaving it "unlimited as to income or property except by the demands of the charity itself." In the Convention of the same year it was recognized by canon as the diocesan agent

¹ Final Report, 1847.

for missionary operations within the city, and a further canon was passed enjoining an annual collection in the city churches for its support. The society went into operation at once and soon became owner by purchase and gift, of "three large, commodious church buildings," the Holy Evangelists in Van de Water Street, by purchase in 1831, the Epiphany, erected by the society in 1834, and St. Matthew's in Christopher Street, by gift, in 1842.

At the same time that this society was established to start free mission chapels, in 1831,¹ St. Mary's Church was made free. In his report to the Convention of that year Mr. Richmond says that he had been induced to take charge of this church in 1828, in addition to his other duties, on account of its pecuniary embarrassments. "There were at that time very few families in the village in the habit of attending service. The church is now generally filled every Sunday and a considerable congregation has been present at the service and during the instruction of the Bible class on Wednesday." He obtained a missionary subscription of \$50 each from six city rectors, with which to engage an assistant to officiate once on Sunday in St. Mary's and once in the village of Harlem. By means of this subscription, which amounted in all to \$600, he was able to engage Mr. Hinton for this work, and the church of St. Andrew's had been erected in Harlem. In addition to this he had raised the sum of \$1000, which had been applied to work in St. Mary's parish to defray the current expenses of the church and Sunday-school, to pay the interest on the mortgage and procure

¹ In his Convention address of 1835, Bishop Onderdonk mentions the consecration of St. Paul's Free Church, Brooklyn, and speaks of it as the first free church in the diocese. Actually this honor belonged to St. Mary's, Manhattanville.

the necessary repairs and improvements. His own services, as appears elsewhere, were given gratuitously, and, in point of fact, he was a large contributor to the support of the work at St. Mary's. St. Mary's was, to all intents and purposes, a mission station of St. Michael's Church at this time, although organized as an independent parish. The aristocratic pewholders of the mother church were not prepared to make the latter free (in fact the idea of a free parish church does not seem to have been seriously proposed as yet); but they were willing to make St. Mary's, which was intended for the poorer population of Manhattanville and its neighborhood, free on the same principle on which, later, through the influence of the City Mission Society, other churches were to establish free chapels.

In the following year, 1832, came the first dreadful visitation of cholera, from which 3500 people died, Mr. Hinton, the rector of St. Andrew's, being among the victims.¹ Mr. Richmond's activity in caring for the sick at this period attracted much attention. The city made him a health officer for his ward, with full power to spend and order as he found it necessary for the public health and the especial wants of the sick. Later, when he was leaving St. Michael's Church to take charge of Zion, the Vestry addressed to him a letter, which was also published in the *Churchman*, containing this passage:

We have found you at all times active, devoted and distinguished in your exertions for the welfare of your flock. Not deterred by the noisome pestilence, you have visited the sick, & fed the hungry, clothed the naked, a friend without faltering, kind, courteous & humane. Devoted to the

¹ The next two years were also cholera years, although the mortality was not so great.

great cause, you have labored with a spirit that never sought repose. To the poor you have preached the Gospel of Truth.

In the same year, 1832, Mr. Richmond began holding services on Sunday evenings at the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, Rev. James M. Forbes, who appears on the Convention records as an assistant minister at St. Luke's, assisting him both here and at St. Ann's, Fort Washington. These services, which were at first an experiment suggested by Mr. Richmond out of the same spirit which had made him the minister to the cholera victims, proved so successful that, in the following year, they received official recognition from the trustees of the New York Hospital; Mr. Richmond was made chaplain and a stipend of \$75 attached to the office. From that time until the removal of the institution to White Plains, the rectors of St. Michael's continued to be chaplains of the Bloomingdale Asylum. The services at Bloomingdale may be said to be the commencement of the work of our Church in the public institutions, although some years were to pass before other institutions were added, and finally a regular organization established for the conduct of that work. What an innovation religious services in an asylum were at that time is shown by the Bishop's reference to this work, in his Convention address of 1834, after a visit paid to St. Michael's, in which Mr. Richmond took him to the asylum:

The services of the Chaplain in this interesting establishment (Lunatic Asylum) are found to produce a soothing and comforting, and, it is hoped, through the Grace of God, a holy influence on the minds of the unfortunate objects of Christian sympathy for whom they are designed. The introduction of judiciously conducted religious exercises

into such establishments, is among the best of those improvements in the treatment of the insane, which raise our asylums to an eminence so exalted, in the estimation of reason, sensibility, and religion, above the cells of wretchedness, terror and withering despair to which they were formerly consigned.

One of the results of the work of the City Mission Society was to call attention to the failure of the Church up to this time to fulfil its Christian mission. It had preached the Gospel not to the poor, but to the rich. In his diocesan address of 1834, Bishop Onderdonk states the case strongly and effectively in the following words:

Thousands still wander through our streets, to whom the Gospel—its word and its Church—are as strange as if there were a broad wall of adamant between it and them. Our ordinary churches, so far from inviting, virtually exclude them. Let them, then, indulge me, when I say that, easy as they may feel in the enjoyment of these spiritual privileges for which they liberally pay in their well furnished places of worship, there rests on them a heavy burden of responsibility touching the poor against whom those places are virtually barred.

It had proved that there were great numbers of people who were not reached by the eleemosynary mission chapels, an independent and self-respecting class, who could not afford to worship in the fashionable and exclusive pewed churches, but who might be capable of supporting independent churches of a more modest type if such could be created. Toward the provision of churches for this class of the community the Bishop directed attention in an interesting letter in the *Churchman* in 1836.

Among those who were convinced of the need of

establishing churches for this class of the community was the Rev. William Richmond who was beginning to come to the conclusion, if he had not done so already, that Christian churches should be free on principle. His brother James had assisted him at St. Michael's from time to time, both prior to his ordination and also after that event, in 1834. Mr. Richmond now requested from the vestries of St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Mary's the latter's appointment as his assistant, he to be responsible for his salary, with right of succession to the rectorship in case of vacancy. His request was granted but with much reluctance, and Rev. William Richmond turned his energies to the organization of a free church on the lines suggested by the Bishop. The headquarters of this movement were at Euterpean Hall, 410 Broadway, and the name given to the infant church was the Church of the Redemption. Mr. Richmond speedily collected a considerable body of worshippers, and in his Convention address of 1836, the Bishop refers to him as engaged

in forming a free church in this city, that is, a church which is to be supported, not by pew-rents, but by the voluntary contributions of its attendants—the pews being all free. Such an establishment appears to be required in our city. There are those who object, on principle, to rendering the privilege of attendance at church dependent on the payment of a tax, and to graduating the eligibility of situation in church for the comfortable hearing and seeing of the holy offices, by the ability of the worshippers to make a pecuniary return. There are very many highly respectable persons in circumstances too moderate to allow of their paying either the price or rent of good pews in our ordinary churches, but who are still anxious to pay what they can, and as they can, for the privilege of be-

longing to a regularly organized portion of our ecclesiastical body, and are therefore, not improperly, reluctant to avail themselves of the accommodations provided by the hand of charity in our mission churches. There is constantly in this great metropolis a large body of strangers not permanently resident here, belonging to either our own communion or that of the Church of England, who find themselves often very painfully situated. They love the services of our sanctuaries and are desirous to attend them, and to have an opportunity of contributing, in the incidental way which only is open to them, to their support. They feel, however, a very natural repugnance to obtruding themselves into pews belonging to others. And it is obvious that the presence of many such as are always with us in our mission churches, would present much the same difficulty in the way of their being occupied by the poor, which, in other Churches, was deemed so strong a reason for the establishment of those of a missionary character. For this large and respectable class of our fellow Christians provision should be made. The making of it is the most important object had in view by the proposed erection of free churches, and I know is regarded as a most valuable provision by our brethren in the country, and will doubtless receive from them, in their occasional visits to the city, no small share of its support. And while the establishment of this species of church is thus a most excellent object in itself, it produces also a highly valuable indirect effect. There are so many whose views, or conveniences, or interests, are met by churches in which the pews are free, that there is perpetual danger of the admirably-designed charity of our mission churches being diverted from its proper channel. Places of worship, therefore, not sustained by charity, but thrown on the voluntary support of the attendants, will, it is hoped, allow the experiment of mission churches to be fairly tried; and thus to let it be seen whether the impression, that there is among us a large body of poor to be thus provided for, and who

will avail themselves of the provision, which gave rise to this excellent charity, is founded on fact.

Strange as it may seem to-day, Mr. Richmond's new enterprise met with considerable opposition on the part of some of the city pastors. They seem to have felt that the establishment of free churches threatened the financial foundations of the Church, and they claimed that the enterprise was immoral, because people who could and should pay as pew-rent a proper sum for the support of a church, would, by the free church system, be led to attend churches where no payment was required and so get the Gospel for nothing. The following year, 1837, having made an arrangement with Zion Church, on behalf of his new Church of the Redemption, by which he was to become the rector of Zion Church, the congregation of the Church of the Redemption receiving free seats in the gallery of that church, Mr. Richmond resigned the rectorship of St. Michael's, to the evident great regret of the Vestry, evinced by the terms of their very touching communication to him on that occasion, and Rev. James Richmond became rector in his stead. Mr. Richmond evidently hoped ultimately to make Zion Church itself free, and thus establish at least one strong, independent free church, in New York. Moreover, the situation of that church, on Mott and Cross Streets, with Five Points in its immediate vicinity, appealed strongly to his missionary zeal. Five Points was at that time, and for many years later, the centre of the misery and crime of the city. It had been the focus and breeding ground of the riots of 1835, and six years later Dickens thus described its horrors:

Near the Tombs, Worth, Baxter, and Park Streets came

together, making five corners or points of varying sharpness, hence the name "Five Points." It was an unwholesome district, supplied with a few rickety buildings, and thickly peopled with human beings of every age, color, and condition.

An old brewery built long before the City hove in sight on its northern route, tottering, with yawning seams in its walls, and broken glass windows, sheltered daring outlaws, and furnished a place of rendezvous for the vilest of the vile. The police were dismayed and discouraged. With the history of the old brewery are associated some of the most appalling crimes ever perpetrated. The arrival of every emigrant ship rendered this plague spot hideous. City missionaries joined in the humanizing work to make successful efforts to reclaim this spot.

The convention reports of St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Mary's during the next few years show a development of the missionary work which Mr. Richmond had begun in those parishes. So, under date of 1837, Rev. James Richmond reports to Convention that he conducts five services on Sunday in and around Bloomingdale, on Friday evenings he officiates at Yorkville, and occasionally he preaches at St. Timothy's, the new German church started the preceding year. This latter represented an effort on the part of the Church to meet its responsibilities toward the new immigration from the north of Europe, which was setting strongly toward this country, and for whose benefit a translation of the prayer-book into German was made at this time. Rev. James Richmond's thorough acquaintance with the German language made him naturally one of the leaders in any effort to provide services for the German population, and he did not confine his efforts to St. Timothy's only, but preached in German occasionally in St. Michael's also, for Germans

were beginning to appear in considerable numbers in the upper part of the island. On Whitsunday, 1837, he conducted a German service at St. Michael's, of which he reports that "there was a great attendance."

Rev. William Richmond had been assisted at times in conducting his large work, with services at so many and such distant points, by volunteers. A school or seminary under Church influences was established in Bloomingdale in 1819, the head teacher in which was a clergyman, Rev. William Powell, from 1819 to 1821, and the Rev. Augustus Fitch from 1821 to 1835. These men gave their services, apparently gratuitously, Mr. Fitch at one time becoming, for a brief period, rector of St. Ann's Church, Fort Washington. Rev. James Richmond was able to call to his support even more volunteer assistants of this description. Shortly after the ordination of Bishop Onderdonk, in 1831, the Protestant Episcopal Public School Society had been established and an elementary school founded, of which Rev. J. B. Van Ingen was superintendent. In 1837 this association founded Trinity School, the first principal of which was Rev. William Morris. He became at the same time an assistant at St. Michael's Church. Through his assistance Mr. Richmond was able to extend his work, and in that year he reports six services held on each Sunday, including the service at the Bloomingdale Asylum; he is further about to undertake additional work at Yorkville, and St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, is to be opened in the morning as well as in the evening. In the following year the Rev. Caleb Clapp, a teacher in a female seminary in Astoria, L. I., is added to the staff which is assisting Mr. Richmond in his missionary work. A year later the Rev. James Sunderland, also a teacher

somewhere in New York, is added to this missionary staff, and the rector of St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Mary's, with this staff of assistants drawn from schools, giving their services, apparently, without charge, is conducting an active and aggressive missionary work in the entire upper portion of the island, excluding Harlem, which was a parish by itself.

There is reason to believe that, in spite of his missionary enthusiasm, which commended him strongly to the poorer classes, Rev. James Cook Richmond was not altogether so acceptable to the well-to-do and respectable pewholders of St. Michael's and St. James's. He was essentially a preaching friar, and soon became restive under parochial restraints. In October of 1841 he made application for a leave of absence, which was granted, with the understanding that failure to return by Easter of 1842 should in itself constitute his resignation. At the same time Rev. William Richmond was appointed assistant of St. Michael's and St. James's, to take charge of those churches during his brother's absence, and with right of succession to the rectorship in case of the latter's failure to return. Rev. James Richmond did in fact return to the country before the time named, but neither came to Bloomingdale nor resumed his parochial duties at St. Michael's and St. James's. No reason was ever assigned. Apparently not wishing to resume the charge and feeling that the vestries of those churches did not wish him to do so, he accepted this as an opportunity of severing his parochial relations. After waiting until June, the Vestry of St. Michael's declared him to be no longer rector, by virtue of the arrangement above mentioned. St. James's, in answer to a letter addressed to him by its vestry, received a formal resignation.

CHAPTER IV

The Second Rectorship of Rev. William Richmond, 1842-1858,
with some Account of the strange Wilderness which became
Central Park.

ON the resignation of the Rev. James Richmond, his brother, Rev. William Richmond, was again called to be rector of the twin churches of St. Michael and St. James. He was already rector of Zion Church, and did not wish to give up that cure and the missionary work which he had begun in connection with it. It would be impossible to take charge of St. Michael's and St. James's in addition to Zion, but he felt that he could, with the help of an assistant, take charge of one of those churches and still retain his city cure. Accordingly, while resuming the rectorship of St. Michael's, he resigned that of St. James's Church on June 13, 1842. At the same time Dr. A. V. Williams, who had become a member of St. James's vestry and clerk of the same in 1831, apparently for the purpose of assisting Mr. Richmond in his missionary and educational work in Yorkville, resigned from the vestry of that parish. Rev. John C. Dowdney was appointed rector of St. James's, and to him Mr. Richmond turned over also the church which he had organized in Yorkville and in general all his missionary and educational work in that region; and here the con-

nection, so long maintained between St. Michael's and St. James's came to an end, except that for a brief period Mr. Dowdney assisted Mr. Richmond at St. Michael's and St. Mary's.

For three years Mr. Richmond maintained his double position as rector of Zion and St. Michael's, residing during the summer in Bloomingdale and during the winter living at a boarding-house in the city—first on the Battery and then in Greenwich Street where boarding-houses were beginning to occupy the fashionable residences as their former occupants moved northward. But this arrangement did not prove satisfactory. Zion Church felt that it was entitled to and required the entire services of a rector; and Mr. Richmond, on his side, felt that the experiment which he had made in Zion Church was not successful. He had not been able to convert the vestry to his free church ideas; the old pewholding population had moved away; and the missionary work which had been so successful in the first years of his rectorship was dwindling for lack of supporters. Finally, in 1845, he resigned the rectorship of Zion Church, confining himself for a time to the growing work at St. Michael's, with St. Mary's, Manhattanville.

This was a period of considerable change and development in the church and city. The diocese had grown so rapidly that, in 1838, the western part of the state, consisting of the present dioceses of Central and Western New York, was set apart to form a new diocese. At the same time the bishopric of New York itself was placed upon a more secure and dignified foundation than heretofore, a fund being created for its support, so that the bishop might give his whole time to his Episcopal work, and not be obliged to act



FREDERICK DEPEYSTER, JR., 1825-1839

TWO CLERKS OF THE VESTRY



DR. A. V. WILLIAMS, 1841-1862

at the same time as Rector of Trinity Church, like Bishops Provoost, Moore, and Hobart, or professor in the General Theological Seminary, like Bishop Onderdonk.

The city was growing rapidly and new churches were coming into existence almost every year. At the same time the population was moving northward. In 1843 Grace Church purchased its present site, on 10th Street and Broadway; and within the next few years most of the older churches, deserted by their former constituency, had sold their down-town land and buildings and moved farther up, some of them to their present sites, others to an intermediate location. Bloomingdale felt the effects of the change of conditions and shifting of population during this period to a remarkable degree. At the outset of Mr. Richmond's second rectorship it was still the old Bloomingdale of country homes. By the end of that period the summer population had almost entirely disappeared, and a poorer, if more numerous, class of residents was beginning to take its place.

In 1836 the New York Orphan Asylum, formerly located on Greenwich Street, moved into its new building at 73d St. and the North River. In 1843 the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, on the present site of the Cathedral, was completed. During the intervening period Bloomingdale was torn up by the construction of the Croton aqueduct. Commenced in 1837, this was completed in 1842, with its two reservoirs at Murray Hill, on 42d Street, then "a short drive from the city," and York Hill, now in Central Park. The line of the aqueduct cut through several of the old country places, and may be said to have been the first disturbance of Bloomingdale by the march of public improvement.

Carried underground through the Manhattanville valley, and up the hill to the south, along the line of what is now Amsterdam Avenue to about 113th Street, it there became a causeway, elevated above the ground. This began to bend eastward at about 108th Street, and became, as it crossed the valley below 104th Street, a monumental structure, resembling the old Roman aqueducts, higher than the tops of the highest houses and pierced, toward the centre of the valley, with arched passage-ways for roads. Below the 92d Street hill it again became a causeway, and finally disappeared beneath the surface at about 84th Street. It constituted at most parts of its course an impassable barrier, traversed only at rare intervals by roads, which surmounted it by means of steep hills or were carried underneath by archways, or by foot-paths which ascended the sides by steps. It was built as though for eternity, few realizing that in the comparatively near future the neighborhood would be so built up as to require more frequent means of communication and that the aqueduct, constructed in so monumental a manner, would prove an actual obstruction to progress.

The construction of the aqueduct led to the official opening of certain streets and avenues, including Tenth Avenue. At first it was supposed that this avenue was actually to be opened as a street throughout its entire length, and in the Vestry minutes of May 3, 1838, there is notice of the appointment of a committee for the purchase of a site to which the church, then on the line of the avenue, might be removed. In point of fact, as already stated, the aqueduct, southward of 108th Street, was carried obliquely "through the block," and consequently Tenth Avenue was not opened below that point until after 1870.

In point of fact it did not prove necessary to remove the church, but damages for the opening, amounting to about \$4000, were awarded to St. Michael's Church at that time, in the form of water stock, and proved a very welcome addition to its property.

The movement of the city northward was greatly accelerated by the invention of horse cars. The first horse car company in the world, the New York and Harlem, was incorporated in 1830, and the first cars were run on that road as far as Murray Hill in 1832. This was followed in rapid succession by other horse car lines, none of which, in point of fact, reached Bloomingdale, but some of which made the lower part of that region more accessible to the city. One result of this increased accessibility was the laying out of a new settlement on the old Harsen farm at Bloomingdale Road and 71st Street. A guide book, published in 1846¹, describes Bloomingdale as:

A remarkably neat village of New York County, situated on the left bank of the Hudson, five miles above the City Hall. An orphan asylum is established here. The village consists chiefly of country seats and contains some 400 inhabitants.

The village here described as Bloomingdale was this settlement, commonly called Harsenville. Manhattanville is described in the same volume as having 500 inhabitants and "Harlaem" 1500.

But most important in its effects on the future of Bloomingdale was the construction of the Hudson River Railroad. This was incorporated in 1846, and in 1849 permission was granted to run the locomotives to 30th Street, which was on the outskirts of the city of

¹ *A Picture of New York.*

that day,¹ and dummies below this to Chambers Street. The road was finally completed in 1851. It destroyed in large part the beauty of the country residences along the Hudson River and drove the occupants of those old homes to other regions. At the same time this, and the other railroads constructed at about the same time, with the telegraph,² made other regions, farther away in miles, more accessible to the city than Bloomingdale had ever been. The completion of the Hudson River Railroad may be said to mark the final stage in the change of character of Bloomingdale, which now ceased to be an aristocratic suburb of the city. This change Mr. Richmond refers to in his Convention reports, and it also makes itself felt in the Vestry lists.

The Vestry records of this period contain little of interest, but show a steady increase in the receipts and expenses of the parish. In 1845 the rector's salary was increased to \$1400. After that it was added to every few years, until 1853, when it reached the sum of \$2500; at which figure it remained stationary for a long time. In 1846 the belfry is in danger of falling down, and repairs are made at an expense of something over \$300. From the treasurer's report of that year it appears that the income of the church amounted to \$1848.77, of which \$1362.50 was derived from ground rents on the land endowment, \$193.52 from interest on water stock, \$232.75 from pew-rents, and \$60 from burials. Among the expenses are recorded several bills for fuel, amounting in all to \$26. The fuel still

¹ When the Church of the Transfiguration was built on 29th Street, between Madison and Fifth Avenues, in 1849, "the view was unbroken to Madison Square below, and to Murray Hill above."

² The first telegraph line out of New York, connecting that city with Philadelphia, was opened in 1847.

consisted of wood, and the church was heated by a stove; but the next year, 1847, a furnace was built at an expense of \$611.03. In 1846 there is an increase of the appropriation for the choir of \$50, "for the purpose of obtaining an additional female voice." In 1849 \$100 is appropriated for the same purpose, and Miss Pease is mentioned by name as the singer. By 1853 \$250 is the regular salary of the organist. By the same date the salary of the sexton has risen to \$175.

Those were days when much needed improvements in the conduct of church services were beginning to be introduced. Heretofore there had been great theoretical zeal for Prayer Book services and the usages of the Church as distinguished from the sects. Clergymen who held services in all sorts of places and who used prayers not contained in the Prayer Book, or who adapted the Prayer Book services to special needs, were looked on with suspicion by the ordinary conservative Churchman. But with the stiffness and conservatism of that day went what would seem to us great slovenliness and positive irreverence in the arrangement and treatment of their church buildings and the conduct of their services. Now, largely as a result of the Oxford movement, the services of the Church begin to be conducted in a more orderly and decent manner, and the church buildings to be beautified and treated with greater reverence. Even the costume of the clergy underwent a change. Heretofore clergymen had been distinguished in their dress, when not performing clerical functions, principally, if at all, by a voluminous white neck-tie. In going to and from church and in visitation of the sick, they wore cassock and gown, with bands and scarf, and a pair of white silk gloves. Now they begin to assert their

clerical separateness by wearing out of church special clothes of a different cut from those worn by the ordinary citizen, while in church their robes become more ecclesiastical and more antique. The peculiar scarfs, given at funerals and worn afterwards by the clergyman in church, and the white gloves, with the first finger slit so as to enable the wearer to turn the pages of the Prayer Book and Bible, were dropped. Something of this movement toward ritual adornment and improvement one sees in the Convention addresses of Bishop Onderdonk. So, in 1836, he mentions, in connection with the consecration of two new churches at Medina and Geddes, the fact that they are the only churches in the diocese having crosses. In 1839 he notes with approval the institution of daily Morning and Evening Prayer in the churches at Astoria and Troy. The fact of his mention of these matters in such a manner shows the important place which they occupied in the minds of the Churchmen of that period. They were matters of excited controversy. Party spirit ran high, and New York, as represented by its Bishop, was on the Ritualistic side.

The students of the General Theological Seminary were strongly affected by this High Church movement. The influences of the school were in general High Church, and it came to be looked on with grave distrust in other parts of the country. The Carey incident, in 1843, aroused the general excitement to a high pitch. Mr. Carey graduated from the General Theological Seminary in 1842, and served as lay-reader in St. Peter's Church. The rector of that church, Dr. Smith, alarmed at Mr. Carey's acceptance of some of the Oxford doctrines, refused to sign his testimonials and joined with Dr. Anthon, rector of St. Mark's Church, in a protest to the

Bishop against his ordination. After an examination of Mr. Carey, in which he was assisted by six Presbyters, including Drs. Smith and Anthon, the Bishop, finding nothing amiss in his views, decided to ordain him. The ordination was held in St. Stephen's Church, Sunday, July 2, 1843. When the Bishop asked the rubrical question: "If there be any of you who knoweth any impediment or notable crime," etc., Dr. Smith and Dr. Anthon arose and read a solemn protest against Mr. Carey's ordination, because he "holds things contrary to the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States and in close alliance with the errors of the Church of Rome."

Two years later, in 1845, Bishop Onderdonk was tried on a charge of immorality by a court of his peers, found guilty, and suspended. So strong was party feeling at the time, that many believed his prosecution and conviction on such charges to be a case of persecution; and that his judges, being Low Churchmen, were prejudiced against him because of his High Church views. This feeling was especially strong in his own diocese, where he had rendered notable service in rousing the Church to its obligation to care for the poor and needy. Owing largely to this division of feeling, New York remained from 1845 to 1852 without a Bishop, to the great prejudice of the Church. Church work everywhere was hampered or checked altogether. The register of St. Michael's parish reflects clearly the distressful conditions of this period. From 1845 to 1852 only one confirmation is reported, namely, in 1850, and no report of communicants is made during that time. Bishop Onderdonk's condemnation was coincident with Mr. Richmond's resignation of Zion

and seems to have had, also, some connection with that event.

It was during this period of embittered party strife, of disorganization and lack of leadership, that, in 1847, the City Mission Society, which Bishop Onderdonk had been instrumental in founding, passed out of existence. The reasons for this are set forth in the report of the Society to the Convention of that year, as follows:

During the past year important changes have taken place in the form of missionary action among the city churches, leading to a suspension, at least, of the duties hitherto performed by this Society as their agent. The care of providing for the destitute within their own bounds has been, of late, assumed by the Parish churches themselves; and their usual Missionary contributions, upon which the operations of the Society were altogether dependent, retained, consequently, for their own expenditure. Under this decision of the Churches, the Society was obviously left without means to carry on their operations; and had, consequently, no other choice left them than to bring them to a close, and to dispose of their Mission Churches in the mode most advantageous to the great cause in which for 15 years, they had faithfully labored. This they did, by transferring to the congregations worshipping therein, their Church buildings respectively, for the balance of debt resting on them, securing as far as lay in their power, the condition of their being held forever as *Free Churches*.

In point of fact, two of the churches founded by the City Mission Society continued to exist as free churches. The third, St. Matthew's, passed out of existence. Trinity had withdrawn the annual appropriation to the City Mission Society, which it had made since 1831, varying in amount from \$600 to \$1800, and it refused

to save St. Matthew's from perishing. The whole matter aroused much feeling against Trinity corporation among New York Churches and Churchmen, and led to the first attack upon it in the Legislature, as related elsewhere. But the work of the City Mission Society had not been in vain. It had aroused the Church in some degree to a sense of its obligations toward the less favored classes of the population. Some of the larger city parishes had established or were establishing free chapels of their own; and Dr. Muhlenberg was building the free church of the Holy Communion and commencing the great work connected with his name and with that parish.

During the years from 1845 to 1847 there is no record of any special work undertaken by Mr. Richmond outside of the parishes of St. Michael's and St. Mary's, with the Bloomingdale Asylum. This does not mean that he was idle. It was his habit to conduct services and preach four times, and sometimes five times a Sunday and conduct Sunday School besides. He was also an active and an interested member of the General Board of Missions, and on the minutes of the missionary committee of the diocese there is entered a "note of thanks for his activity and success in removing a large debt which threatened seriously to interfere with the continuance of some of its institutions."¹

Since the autumn of 1841, with an intermission from 1843 to 1845, Mr. Thomas McClure Peters, a student in the seminary, had worked under Mr. Richmond as a lay reader, chiefly, if not altogether, at St. Mary's, Manhattanville. In 1847 he was ordained deacon, married Mr. Richmond's daughter, and became his assistant, technically at St. Mary's Church, but in

¹ Sermon of Rev. C. B. Smith.

reality in the whole work of the parish. He had felt the influence of the ecclesiastical, High Church, Oxford movement on the one side and of the missionary, humanitarian, and progressive movements, represented by such men as Mr. Richmond and Dr. Muhlenberg, on the other side. The historic Church, daily services, frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion, beauty and order in the services of the Church, appealed to him; and he was at the same time eager to carry the Gospel to the poor, an ardent believer in free churches, full of faith in humanity, and imbued with the spirit of the age. The City Mission Society had been planned and organized to carry the Church to what we may call the lower middle classes. In the very year in which it passed out of existence, 1847, Mr. Peters and Mr. Richmond began to hold services in the city institutions and to visit the sick and needy in the hospitals and almshouses. This was the commencement of the Mission to Public Institutions, which was somewhat more definitely organized in 1849, intended to reach the poorest and most neglected classes in the city, the strata still underlying those whom the City Mission had sought to serve.

In the same year Mr. Peters started a mission at Seneca village, in what is now Central Park, on the site of the present upper reservoir; and by 1849 had organized All Angels' Church, of which a fuller history will be found elsewhere in this volume. The area now occupied by Central Park was at that time the most forlorn and miserable section of New York City. It is thus described by General Viele in his *Memorial History of New York*:

It was for the most part a succession of stone quarries,

interspersed with pestiferous swamps. The entire ground was the refuge of about five thousand squatters, dwelling in rude huts of their own construction, and living off the refuse of the city which they daily conveyed in small carts, chiefly drawn by dogs, from the lower part of the city, through Fifth Avenue (then a dirt road, running over hills and hollows). This refuse they divided among themselves and a hundred thousand domestic animals and fowls, reserving the bones for the bone-boiling establishment situated within the area. Horses, cows, swine, goats, cats, geese and chickens swarmed everywhere, destroying what little verdure they found. Even the roots in the ground were exterminated until the rocks were laid bare, giving an air of utter desolation to the scene, made more repulsive from the odors of the decaying organic matter which accumulated in the beds of the old water courses that ramified the surface in all directions, broadening out into reeking swamps wherever their channels were intercepted.

The following extracts from a series of articles which Mr. Peters commenced to write at a later period, and of which only fragments remain, give a vivid picture of that region as he found it, its conditions and inhabitants, human and animal, at the middle of the last century, before the park was:

No visitor to those beautiful pleasure grounds sees anything to indicate the condition of things there in the days when no Park was proposed. One would not hesitate even now to say that it must once have been a very rough territory and yet the rocky, swampy wilderness is faintly outlined in the Park as it is. Many a painful travail of thought passed its frequenters of those days when contemplating the feasibility of subduing its wilderness for the erection of lines of city dwellings; and the ruin it must bring to its unhappy owners by assessments for the levelling of rocky minarets and the draining and filling of its morasses.

It was a happy thought which said it is not fit for anything else but we can make of it a magnificent Park and we will.

Population had long ago sent up its rays to the East and West of it and three or four houses of the ancient time stood on the edge of the Park region. East and West had little to do with each other, and consequently the roads connecting them were poor. Seventy-first Street was passable for riders or for light wagons, but its bald edges of rock afforded poor foothold for horses dragging heavy carriages. Eighty-sixth was open to the same objection at its Bloomingdale Road end. Jauncey's Lane, coming out upon the Bloomingdale Road at about 92d Street, was a very good country road and the only one of the three lines of communication much used by carriages. From Jauncey's to Harlem Lane there was no cross road. The old Albany Road, little used, cut off a strip on the 5th Avenue side of the Park from about 90th St. up and passed down a steep hill full of loose stones at McGowan's Pass, near the Mount St. Vincent restaurant. As to trees there were plenty of them in the northern part of the present Park, but as they were cut down by any marauder none were allowed to grow to any size. Hence it comes that, while there were many trees older than the Park, the only trees of full age are a few which remained standing in the grounds of the three or four old houses.

Unattractive as the Park region then was, it was by no means unpeopled. From 76th St. to 108th St. there was a population considerable in numbers and of the most heterogeneous kind. White and black and Indian, American, German, and Irish; the believers and practicers in monogamy and those who troubled themselves about no *gamy* at all; gentle folk deteriorated and rough lovers of a free and easy life; saints the most exalted and sinners the most abandoned, lived and multiplied and died. One large burying ground and three or four smaller ones received

the remains of the departed. Near the then upper reservoir were two churches, one attended by colored only,¹ another, a small Episcopal church, in which white and black and all intermediate shades worshipped harmoniously together.

In another fragment, entitled “Jake’s End,” he describes the condition of one of the denizens of that general neighborhood:

His house, or at least his last house during life, was wretched enough to pass among the most doleful of the squatters’ huts of that region.

It was mostly underground, being entered by a descent of several steps from a door which faced (it would sound too cheerful to say the rising sun, so let it be) the eastern storm. There might have been a sheet or two of dirt, with glass on the outside of it, but to the best of my recollections the den was windowless and all the light came through the door, which I certainly never saw closed. The cabin had a mud floor, with a small platform of broken plank on one side. There was an open fireplace with one iron fire-dog; the fuel was of such bits of wood as could be picked up on the banks of the North River, whence it may be said, in passing, not a few of the pre-Parkites drew their supplies for cooking and warmth. In default of other combustibles the scanty platform was encroached upon, and as Jake gradually failed the only remnant of flooring faded away with him. A sadly crippled chair offered a treacherous seat for a single visitor; any more must remain standing, unless they chose a suspicious resting place on the edge of Jake’s bed. This had been long years ago an imposing timber structure, but was now far advanced in ruin. Jake occupied this ruin when first I made his acquaintance, and there he remained immovable to the end. Wretched

¹ This was a Methodist church; the Episcopal church here referred to is All Angels’.

as was this home Jake was not alone in it, but had a companion, Molly, with whom he lived in unblest and childless union. Molly remained with him to the end, not from the depth of her affection but from entirely material reasons. One was that Jake kept under his pillow a purse of money laid up against a day more rainy than the rest of a stormy life and to leave, if might be, a small burial fund at its close. From this purse when he was asleep and she thirsty, Molly abstracted coins, which Jake missed and whose destination he knew, but how could he help himself? Besides all this a kind neighbor was in the habit of bringing poor Jake daily a good hot breakfast and at times another meal, which Molly took from the weak and dying man to devour for her own sustenance.

In another fragment he describes the dogs and the gruesome horse hunts conducted by them:

By gift or unauthorized, or for the sake of refuge or wild life almost every existing species of dog had found its way there. Besides which all sorts of canines belonging to no known breed, from crossings and quarterings and unhappy mistakes, driven from more respectable quarters as too mongrel to be acknowledged, found hospitable shelter in its huts and shanties. Bound by no chain, they were free to rove and maraud by day and come home or stay out as they chose by night. With the perversity common to flesh and blood, they were sure to be around the door step at early morn.

Their life was divided between imperturbable laziness and tremendous excitement. Stretched out at repose under the sunny side of a shanty, nothing but a brick would stir them, and then feebly. Let, however, a distant bark from two contending dogs break the air and they rushed, bundles of nerves, from every quarter, furious and swift, like foemen hastening to their scene of action, and gathering around the strife like boys hemming in a walking match. The

contest over, they returned to their former immovable sloth. Every child was the happy owner of a dog, crippled or deformed as it might be. Many an unattached dog booked himself as holding general allegiance to any who for the time being would whistle him home. Making a visit one day to a man poor in dollars and rich in offspring, I counted seven sluggish dogs about his doorstep. "No wonder you are poor," said I, "with all this pack to feed." "O they don't cost me nothing," drawled the man, "they hunt for a living." Not that they earned their food by tracking the deer or coursing the hare or pointing the woodcock: the hunting was a general marauding for that sustenance which they failed to receive from their owners or patrons. As they had made good progress backward towards a wild life, so had they correspondingly approached to a savage taste. Carrion, even down to decomposing pig, was good food and often easily gotten by unearthing some unburied animal. The great hunts conducted in packs were directed towards the superannuated horses turned out on the Commons to die. The hovering crows made their repeated dashes at the eyes of the still living victims and cleaned out the sockets as their delicate morsel. The ground, furrowed by the pawings of the agonized horse, gave token of the night struggle with the hungry and pitiless dogs. No complete skeleton even marked the place where an equine life had gone out, but far and wide over wold and heath were scattered whitened bones from which the flesh had been torn and the sinews gnawed.

Such was the dog and such the dog's life before the Park was.

In the same year in which All Angels' Church was organized, 1849, the cholera again visited New York. It started in Five Points on May 14th. The public schools were turned into hospitals, and in them alone 1021 persons are reported to have died. The total

mortality was reported as 5071. Among the victims was Mr. Richmond's wife. With her death the bond which held him to settled parochial work was broken, and, early in 1851, he put himself at the service of the Board of Missions to go to the Pacific coast, and became the first missionary of our Church in Oregon. It seems to have been his intention to devote himself permanently to mission work, but at the outset, instead of resigning the cure of St. Michael's, he asked for a leave of absence for one year, he to provide for the continuance of services during his absence at his own expense. Leave of absence was granted March 19, 1851, and Rev. T. M. Peters, then rector of All Angels' and assistant at St. Mary's, was appointed to take his place during his absence.

During Mr. Richmond's absence in Oregon, Mr. Peters established St. Timothy's Church. The original parish of St. Michael's had been regarded by Mr. Richmond as extending northward to Spuyten Duyvil. To provide for the people in the upper part of this region he had established St. Ann's Church at Fort Washington, where there was then a small settlement of poor people. In course of time these moved away, and about, or shortly after 1836, St. Ann's Church, which owned no building of its own, passed out of existence. By the middle of the next decade a small village, called Carmansville, had sprung up somewhat further south, in the neighborhood of 150th Street. Here, in 1847, a new church, the Church of the Intercession, was established, largely through the agency of members of St. Andrew's Church, Harlem. This took the place of St. Ann's Church in providing for the population of the upper end of the island, and by the creation of this parish the rectors of St. Michael's Church felt

themselves relieved from the responsibility for further work north of Manhattanville. About and below 59th Street, however, thanks to the northward spread of the city, a considerable population was springing up, for which no religious provision was made. To provide for this population, following in this the method pursued earlier by Mr. Richmond, Mr. Peters engaged the Rev. J. C. Tracy of Cleveland as his assistant at St. Michael's Church, and assigned to him as his special work a mission in the neighborhood of 50th Street, with a view to establishing there a separate congregation. Out of this grew St. Timothy's Free Church, organized in 1853 and admitted to Convention in 1854.

While Mr. Richmond was absent in Oregon, Zion Church in Mott Street, of which he had been rector, was advertised for sale. In the previous year ten lots of land had been given to this church on Madison Avenue and 38th Street, on which a brick chapel was erected and the services transferred thither from Mott Street. The church felt itself no longer able to continue what was practically a missionary work, and, regarding its property as intended for the benefit of its members and pewholders, and not for the Church at large, in October of 1852 advertised for sale the land and building on Mott Street, to secure money to enable it to build on the new property on Madison Avenue. On somebody's part it was a wicked abandonment of a great missionary opportunity, and so stirred up public feeling that a number of the clergy of New York joined in the following call for a meeting:

Zion Church, Mott Street, New York, being offered

for sale: We the undersigned Rectors and Ministers of Churches in the Cities of New York and Brooklyn, believing that there is no portion of the city of New York where a church and the labors of a faithful ministry are so much needed, invite so many of the clergy and laity of these two cities as may take an interest in the matter, to meet on Friday, October 29th inst., at 12 o'clock noon, in the Sunday school room in the rear of St. John's Chapel, New York, for the purpose of considering what measures can be taken to procure the present Zion Church edifice as a centre for missionary work in that part of the City.

The last name signed to the call is that of T. M. Peters. He was also one of the speakers at the meeting resulting, and on his motion it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed in behalf of this meeting as follows: The Provisional Bishop-elect shall be Chairman, additional members shall be nominated by the chair. It shall be the duty of the Committee to take into consideration the subject before the meeting and report at an adjourned meeting of the Clergy and laity to be held in this place Friday, November 15th, at noon.

The committee appointed consisted of Dr. Wainwright, Chairman; Drs. Hawks, Haight, and Vinton, Rev. Mr. Peters and J. H. Swift, Esq. An appeal was made to Trinity Church for assistance, but the corporation was at that time engaged in the erection of Trinity Chapel, at an expense of \$230,000, and had no money to spare. Other churches were concerned in the development of their own missionary work, and, after waiting for three months, the vestry of Zion Church sold the land and building to Archbishop Hughes for \$30,000, and for a time the Church abandoned its missionary enterprise in the slums

of New York. To some who were concerned in this effort to save Zion, it was a bitter experience, which aroused their indignation. Dr. Muhlenberg, Mr. Robert B. Minturn, and others made the failure of Trinity to render assistance on this occasion one of the counts in the indictment which they presented in the second attack on that corporation in the Legislature, in 1857-58. Trinity was using what was a trust for the whole Church, they said, to build so magnificent a chapel for a few rich pew-holders, that it could afford nothing for the many poor, to whom the money belonged as much as to the others. With some justice the friends of Trinity retorted that Trinity was not alone in such conduct, that St. George's, St. Thomas's and other churches, endowed from Trinity's original grant, had sold their land and church property, and, abandoning their parishes and the poor still living there, had used the proceeds of such sale to build fine churches for their rich pewholders in a region more convenient to them.

Mr. Richmond's health proved unequal to the exposure of the life in Oregon. He fell ill and finally was compelled to resign from this mission and return to the East. He resumed his charge, as parish priest, at St. Michael's early in 1853, resigning, however, the rectorship of St. Mary's, of which Mr. Peters became rector. Later in the same year Mr. Peters was appointed assistant at St. Michael's, and the three parishes of St. Michael, St. Mary, and All Angels, and the considerable missionary work now connected therewith continued to be administered practically as one concern.

Mr. Peters had, during Mr. Richmond's absence, bought, at his own risk, but with the knowledge and

approval of the individual members of the Vestry, seven acres of land in Astoria as a cemetery, and also advanced a considerable amount of money for the erection of All Angels' Church. After Mr. Richmond's return, the Vestry of St. Michael's agreed to take over the cemetery in Astoria, known as St. Michael's Churchyard, and also the title to All Angels' Church, with the four lots belonging to it, repaying Mr. Peters what he had advanced for the purchase of these properties. The acquisition of the cemetery was a move of the utmost importance to St. Michael's Church; the fuller details of the purchase and the later history of the cemetery are recorded in a later chapter.

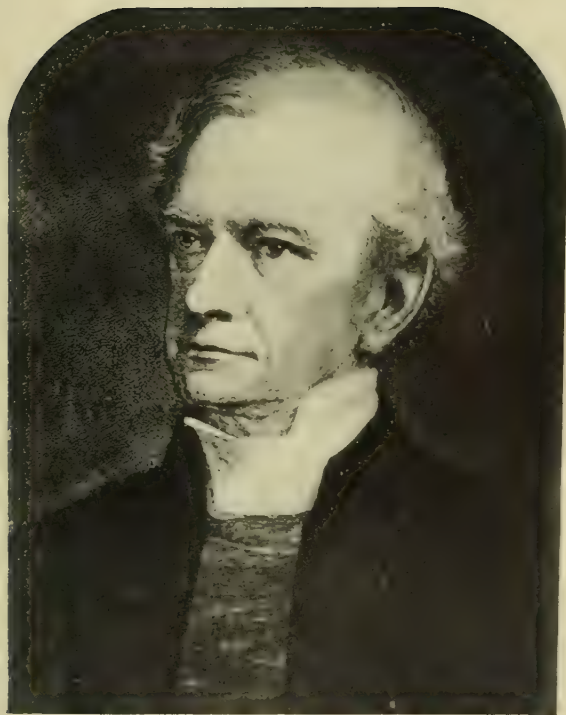
Another important move was made at the same time. At the Vestry meeting, held Tuesday, May 1, 1853, it was voted to abolish pew-rents and make all sittings in St. Michael's Church free; and it was also ordered that a collection should be taken every Sunday, contributing toward the expense of maintaining the services of the Church being thus made a formal act of worship. At the same meeting it was voted to spend \$600 in repairing and painting the church. This work had scarcely been completed when, early on Sunday morning, October 16th, the church took fire, apparently from a defective flue, and burned to the ground. A hall for services was at once engaged, at the rate of \$8 a month, in a factory which had recently been built in 100th Street (evidence, by the way, of the change then taking place in the character of the neighborhood), a melodeon and seats were bought for \$200, and a committee, consisting of Dr. Williams, Messrs. Mali, von Post, and DePeyster, to which was later added Mr. David S. Jackson, was appointed on the plan of a new church building. It is

rather curious to note that at the Vestry meeting at which this action was taken, November 12, 1853, "the rector reported the engagement from August 1st of Mrs. McIntosh as organist and her daughter to sing, for \$250;" and that \$33 was appropriated for a clerical gown for Mr. Babbitt, the late organist, a student in the Theological Seminary, who was about to be ordained.

The insurance received on the burned church amounted to \$3450. It was decided to erect a new building at a cost of about \$7250, or, with furnace, paint, furniture, etc., about \$11,000. Moreover, as the original church site would be diminished by the opening of Tenth Avenue it was necessary to buy more land. A small gore of land north of the church, 15 ft. 5 in. front and 14 ft. 3 in. rear, running from Bloomingdale Road to Tenth Avenue, had already been purchased in 1851 for \$245. In 1854 another small gore between 99th Street and the church property and between Broadway and Tenth Avenue was bought for \$293.70; and finally in the same year, a couple of full lots to the north of the church property were secured through Gen. R. L. Schieffelin, at a cost of \$3000. This completed the church property as it continued to exist until the closing of Bloomingdale Road in 1868. These seemed necessary expenses with reference to the future, but involved the church in debt, which was considerably increased by the construction of the new building. This actually cost \$12,611.70, of which \$8100 was raised by a loan on the down-town property. The next year a new organ was added at a cost of \$1200 and a new heating apparatus at \$225. The architect of the new church was Mr. Priest, the builder Mr. Twine, who was a carpenter as well as sexton of the church. The Building Committee, which succeeded

the original committee appointed to consider plans, consisted of Dr. A. V. Williams, and Messrs. David S. Jackson and Mr. H. W. T. Mali. The construction of the church, which was built of oak throughout, with a font of Caen stone, was overseen in every detail by Mr. Peters, who, later, when the congregation was about to move out of that church into the present edifice, mentioned this fact as one reason for his attachment to the old building. The new church stood westward of the site of the old, close to Bloomingdale Road and occupying almost the entire space westward to Tenth Avenue in its length. It was larger than the old building, containing 73 pews and seating 400 people, while the other had only seated about 200. It was a churchly building, Gothic, with a clerestory, and a deep recessed chancel at the east end. At the southeastern corner stood a steeple-tower, in the ground floor of which was placed the organ. There was no gallery. The entrance was at the western end of the south side. Southward of the church, between it and 99th Street stood the churchyard, with its entrance on Bloomingdale Road. The whole effect was very attractive. The church was completed and consecrated by the new provisional bishop of the diocese, Rt. Rev. Horatio Potter, November 25, 1854. The destruction of the church building, coming as it did at a time of transition, had, naturally, a serious effect on the life of the parish. In his Convention report of 1855 Mr. Richmond says of this:

During the time of rebuilding the church, the services were necessarily held in an inconvenient room and the congregation was much scattered. Many families formerly connected with the parish had also removed from the neighborhood, and their places have not been supplied with



RT. REV. HORATIO POTTER, D.D., D.C.L.
Consecrator of Second Church, Nov. 25, 1854

a class of persons that are as apt to attend our services,
All the seats in this church are free.

On Mr. Richmond's return from Oregon, in 1853, he resumed his work in the Mission to Public Institutions with apparently renewed vigor. Early in the following year we find the first mention of this work in a communication to St. Michael's Vestry, dated March 18th:

The Rector informed the Vestry that during the past year he had appointed The Rev. Thomas McC. Peters his Assistant in the Parish, and to conduct a Mission to Public Institutions of the City, commenced in 1849.¹ Including the Rector & Assistant, five Clergymen had officiated regularly, on Week Days or on Sundays, under this mission in eight of these Institutions; the salary of the Assistant is paid by the Rector, and the remaining expenses of the mission are provided by the Assistant from members of the Congregation & other sources.

In Mr. Peters's report to Convention, as rector of All Angels' Church, in 1853, he gives the following details of this work as it existed at that time:

Services in the public Institutions, as follows, are counted part of the same Missionary labor and their results recorded upon the parish register.

Colored Home; twice a week public service & visiting in sick wards with occasional interruptions.

Bellevue Hospital; once a week.

Alms House, Blackwell's Island; service, Sunday, with Communion monthly; also one visiting day in each week.

N. Y. Orphan Asylum, with service once a week.

Randall's Island; service for between four and five hundred boys every Sunday morning.

¹Mr. Peters always gives the date of commencement of this mission as 1847.

Penitentiary; service, one Sunday in each month, and once during each week.

Lunatic Asylum, Blackwell's Island; service once a week.

The Rev. Wm. Richmond, Rev. G. L. Neide, & myself, give our labour to these services, the expense being in part paid out of the fund collected for the purpose. The Revs. A. Fitch, J. C. Tracy & C. S. Little, are also engaged; the first occasionally, the other two regularly, to carry on the work.

For the necessary means I am indebted to the Rev. W. Richmond, the Pastoral Aid Society, & to individual members of St. Michael's Church, & friends in the city, with the prospect this year of making up myself a pretty large deficiency.

In the latter part of 1853 Mrs. Richmond¹ joined her husband in his mission to the penitentiary. He had found there many fallen women, who, he believed, might be touched and helped by female influence, but whom a man could not approach. Mrs. Richmond undertook the work among these women. Experience soon showed her that it was almost useless to work among them at the penitentiary unless she had also a place in the city to care after they were discharged for those who had seemed responsive to her efforts. Under ordinary circumstances, when their term expired they returned to the city. They could find no employment, their old haunts invited them and they soon resumed the former life of sin. She set out to raise the money to provide a home for those who were willing to attempt a reformation. The details of this work are recorded in a later chapter. The House of Mercy, which she established, was located in St. Michael's parish, and counted by Mr. Richmond as part of his

¹ Mr. Richmond had married again while in Oregon.

parish work, which he reported regularly to the Convention in his annual report from St. Michael's Church.

Reference has already been made to Central Park. This was the last great change which befell Bloomingdale during Mr. Richmond's second rectorship. Who was the author of the wise scheme to turn the waste lands in the centre of the island into a city park is not certain. There are many different claims to this honor. The St. Michael's tradition is that the scheme was first suggested by Dr. A. V. Williams, then warden of that church, when he was acting president of the Board of Aldermen. The condemnation of the land as far north as 104th Street was actually made in 1856,¹ and from the Vestry records of that year we find that St. Michael's Church was assessed \$600. All Angels' Church, which, as already stated, was then the property of St. Michael's, stood within the territory condemned for the purpose of a park. The award for the condemnation of this property was \$4010, which enabled St. Michael's Church to recoup itself for the money advanced some years before, to purchase the building from the city for \$250 and to remove it to land given for the purpose near 79th Street, still leaving a considerable margin over for the benefit of All Angels' Church. The All Angels' account was finally settled in 1858, the property held for that church by St. Michael's being turned over to St. Michael's Free Church Society, an organization incorporated for the purpose of acquiring and holding property for the support of free churches in the city of New York, with right of reversion to St. Michael's Church, if it should ever be used for anything else but a free church.

¹ The remaining portion, to 110th Street, was taken by the city in 1858.

At the same time All Angels' Church was incorporated and from this date it ceased to be a dependency of St. Michael's.

It is interesting to note, in the Vestry records of 1856, as indicating the changed conditions of the neighborhood, a vote to pay "\$5 for bringing vestrymen to meetings in carriages." It is also worthy of record that in 1858 we find the first bill for Christmas greens at St. Michael's Church.

Although after his return from Oregon Mr. Richmond had seemed to resume his work with his old time vigor, in reality he was already a sick man. His health was failing fast in those latter years and he was compelled to lay down one work after another. Even the daily prayers in the House of Mercy, which, as his last child, seemed to be especially the child of his love, became an occasional service, then ceased altogether. He administered the Communion in St. Michael's Church for the last time on the first Sunday in June, 1858. He died a little more than three months later, Sunday, September 19th. At a special meeting of the Vestry called September 25, 1858, the following resolutions were adopted and ordered spread on the minutes:

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call from his *Earthly labors* the Reverend *William Richmond* for nearly 38 years *Rector of this Parish*

Resolved, That the Vestry of this Church while they bow with submission to the will of God in his afflictive dispensation, *deplore* the loss sustained by this *Community* by the *family* of the deceased and by this *Congregation* and lament for *themselves* the severance of ties of *friendship* and *affection* which have grown and strengthened through long years of *faithful Pastoral* care and social intercourse

Resolved, That the Vestry of this Church reviewing

the Ministry of their lamented *Pastor* record with gratitude and affection their acknowledgment of the untiring *zeal* and *fidelity*, the abounding *labor* and *Charity* which have marked the long incumbency of the deceased.

The Vestry also ordered that the expenses of the funeral should be paid by the church and that the salary of the rector should be continued and paid to his widow for the period of six months. In the following year they voted to erect over his grave a monument at a cost not to exceed \$200. This monument, which stood for a long time near the door of the church which he had so long served as rector, was removed when the present building was erected, and placed in the crypt beneath the Chapel of the Angels. The grave itself, however, was not disturbed and Mr. Richmond's remains rest beneath the present church.

CHAPTER V

Old Bloomingdale and its Passing; Being a Chapter of Interest to Antiquarians only.

IN the last chapter we gave some account of the changing conditions in Bloomingdale, about and shortly after the middle of the last century, while the first chapter told of conditions at Bloomingdale in the first years of the nineteenth century, at the time of the founding of St. Michael's Church. It is the purpose of this chapter to give, chiefly from the records of the church, some little sketch of the intervening period, the men and women who lived in old Bloomingdale, and the people and conditions that succeeded them.

Those conditions which originally led to the development of Bloomingdale and other similar sections of Manhattan, namely the pestilential conditions of the city proper, continued to prevail for many years after the founding of St. Michael's Church. In 1819 and again in 1822 the scourge of yellow fever was so serious that the lower part of the city was fenced or roped off. As a consequence more and more people sought country homes: those who were well-to-do, summer residences in such suburbs as Bloomingdale; and those who were less well-to-do, permanent residences in villages like Chelsea, Greenwich, or even Harlem. A comparison of the original list of pewholders with the lists of vestry-



Front View of House



View of River from House

THE WEYMAN PLACE
From Old Paintings

men of later date makes this manifest, so far as Bloomingdale is concerned. New names, representing new families, who had built or bought in Bloomingdale, continue to appear.

William Weyman becomes a vestryman in 1810. He had acquired a place on the river, at the foot of Van Horne, later Mott Lane, at 93d Street. Just south of the Weyman place, occupying five acres of land along the river, stood the country home of George McKay, who became vestryman in 1822. South of this, on the other side of Livingston or Waldo Lane, between 90th and 91st Streets, stood what was originally the Brockholst Livingston place. The Livingstons do not appear among the original founders or pewholders of St. Michael's. Later the Livingston property passed into the hands of the Waldo family, and in 1834 Horace Waldo, then owner of that property, became a vestryman of St. Michael's. Just south of the Livingston place stood from the outset, as already narrated, the McVickar place. Below this, at the foot of 86th Street, the Howlands acquired a beautiful property, with a fine mansion, picturesquely situated on a high bluff overlooking the river, which afterwards became the House of Mercy and then the Ely School, and which has only recently been torn down. The owner of this property, William H. Howland, became a vestryman in 1837. In 1839 H. W. T. Mali, Belgian Consul, entered the Vestry. His place stood at 113th Street and the river. Directly opposite him lived Mr. Albert McNulty, in a house still standing and now used as a hotel. He was baptized as an adult in 1850 and entered the Vestry in the same year. In 1841 William Whitlock became a vestryman, and was succeeded by his son, William Whitlock, Jr., in 1854. The Whitlock

house, with seven acres of land, stood at 109th Street and the river. In 1843 James G. Stacey, whose home was on the old Kemble property, at about 104th Street and the river, became a vestryman. In the same year Richard L. Schieffelin, son of Jacob Schieffelin, one of the original founders, entered the Vestry. He had married in 1833 a granddaughter of Mr. McKay, through whom he became owner of the McKay country home on 92d Street and the river.

In 1847 James Punnett was elected a vestryman of the church and became warden in 1867. He was a son-in-law of Caspar Meier, who immigrated to this country from Bremen, Germany, toward the close of the eighteenth century, and founded the present firm of Oelrichs & Co. Caspar Meier's country home stood at 118th Street and the river. He himself was one of the founders of the Bloomingdale Reformed Church, but his children and grandchildren all became active members of St. Michael's, and were among the most valuable assistants and fellow workers of the rectors of that church in their benevolent and missionary enterprises. For many years James Punnett occupied the old place at 118th Street and the North River. He was president of the Bank of America, and the Vestry meetings of St. Michael's Church were held in those days in the board room of that bank, in Wall Street. Mr. Hermann C. von Post, the present head of Oelrichs & Co., a grandson of Caspar Meier and son-in-law of William Whitlock, Jr., became a vestryman in 1852; and in 1858 Gustav Schwab, a third member of the Meier family group, who had married Mr. von Post's sister, Caspar Meier's granddaughter, and who was also a member of the old firm, was elected to the Vestry.

The men of this little group, consisting of Caspar

Meier's descendants and kinsfolk, may be said to represent a movement which was taking place in the community toward the Church. While Caspar Meier, a German by origin, had connected himself with the Dutch Reformed Church, they were all active in the Episcopal Church. The same movement is represented by Edward J. Swords, who became a vestryman in 1837. His wife, Jemima Striker (spelled Stryker in St. Michael's records), belonged to an old Dutch Reformed family, which gave its name to Striker's Bay at 96th Street, on the shore of which stood the old homestead. Her father was active in the founding of the Bloomingdale Reformed Church. The son-in-law, a prominent Church publisher, was a vestryman of St. Michael's Church, and four of their children were baptized there between 1837 and 1844. The Mott family, originally Quakers, belong in the same category. They first appear on the records in the fifth decade of the century, 1848, when Calvin H. Mott married Elizabeth Hewlet. In the next decade, 1859, Dr. Valentine Mott, perhaps the most prominent surgeon of New York in his day, became vestryman of the church. The Motts had purchased the old Garrit Van Horne house on 94th Street and Bloomingdale Road, with a considerable tract of land in that neighborhood, extending northward to Striker's Bay. On the east side of Bloomingdale Road, at 94th Street, Dr. Mott erected a large house, which was occupied until quite a late date by his widow, and afterwards became the home of the Children's Fold. The Livingstons are another case in point. Of Scotch descent and originally Presbyterians, they later became staunch Churchmen; and while they do not appear among the original founders, at a later date numerous burials, baptisms, and marriages of members

of this family are entered on the records. Perhaps Dr. David Tilden Brown, who became vestryman in 1860, having been, since 1852, the head of the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, should be included in this group, inasmuch as he came of a New England Congregational family.

Dr. Brown and Dr. Mott belong distinctly to the period of the passing of old Bloomingdale, Dr. Mott representing also the property holders of a second generation, who bought the original country places, cut them up, and built new houses. To this class belongs, likewise, Mr. David S. Jackson, who first appears as a vestryman in 1850. He bought some acres of land to the west of Bloomingdale Road, from 100th Street northward (the old Vroom farm), and built there three houses, one of which, recently torn down, on 101st Street and Broadway, was for many years the residence of Rev. T. M. Peters and came to be regarded in the neighborhood as the "rectory." Some years earlier, in 1835, Mr. William P. Furniss, who entered the Vestry in 1856, bought from the estate of Mrs. Ann Rodgers, whose husband, William Rodgers, was one of the founders of the church, a considerable property north of Striker's Bay (later, in 1856, he added to this part of Striker's Bay farm), and erected there, in 1837, a large house, which still stands between 99th and 100th streets on Riverside Drive. The old Rodgers homestead, as narrated elsewhere, became a hotel.

The story of Elmwood will serve to illustrate one of the methods of the passing of old Bloomingdale houses. This house was situated on the present site of St. Agnes's Chapel. It belonged at the close of the eighteenth century to a Mr. Apthorpe, after whom was called, also, the lane which ran along the northern edge



TWO OLD MANSIONS

1. Elmwood : the Aphorpe and Jauncey Homestead
2. Burnham Hotel, formerly Baron Vandenheuvel's Country Home

of the property at 92d Street, forming a channel of communication with upper Yorkville. At some time before 1807 it passed into the hands of William Jauncey, one of the original founders of St. Michael's Church. Later Jauncey's daughter, Jane Mary, having married Herman Thorn, who became a vestryman in 1819, the Thorns took the house and continued to reside there until about 1830. It was a good place for children, and in the register of St. Michael's Church is recorded the baptism of seven children of Herman Thorn of Elmwood and Jane Mary Jauncey, his wife, between 1811 and 1829. The place was next occupied by William G. Buckner and Emily Anna Bulow, his wife, two of whose children were baptized in St. Michael's Church in 1835 and 1837 respectively. Mr. Buckner himself became a vestryman in 1838 and served in that capacity until 1841. This place was one of those disturbed by the erection of the aqueduct at about that time, and appears to have been abandoned as a residence on that account. A race track was now laid out here and training stables built; for Bloomingdale Road, it should be said, was a favorite drive for the owners of fast horses, and the old house became a hotel. With the laying out of the Park, the development of Harlem Lane and the disuse of Bloomingdale Road for fast driving, the race course was turned into market gardens, and the old house and the grove about it became an excursion and picnic resort. Here were held at one time the annual excursions or picnics of St. Michael's Sunday School. Gradually it became less and less reputable as an excursion resort. The house fell into great disrepair, and the once beautiful grounds were cut to pieces by the opening of new streets, and with the construction of the elevated railroad Elmwood finally became a miser-

able tenement, and then was torn down to make way for modern buildings.

The families who occupied the old Bloomingdale homes intermarried freely, and the records of their marriages and of the baptisms of their children appear at least as often on the St. Michael's register as on the registers of the down-town churches to which they also belonged. The Malis, Weymans, Staceys, Whitlocks, von Posts, Schwabs, and Punnetts were all connected with one another, and in general the details of their relationship can be traced from a study of St. Michael's register. This group was very active in the affairs of St. Michael's Church from about 1840 to 1860 and a little later.

In the two decades immediately preceding, the DePeysters played the principal rôle, there being at one time four members of that family, three of them brothers, on the Vestry of St. Michael's. Reference was made in the first chapter to Captain Frederick DePeyster, one of the founders of the church, who was also vestryman from 1815 to 1816. His second son, Robert G. Livingston DePeyster, succeeded his father on the Vestry in 1817. In the following year the eldest son, Captain James Ferguson DePeyster (Samuel Ferguson served on the Vestry with Frederick DePeyster), became treasurer of the church, and so continued until his death in 1874, filling also the position of warden from 1830. He was prominent in the religious and benevolent life of the city, a governor of the New York Hospital and Bloomingdale Asylum, president of the New York Dispensary, treasurer and trustee of the Bleecker Street Savings Bank, vestryman of Trinity Church, and treasurer of the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning. He was the father of the late

Frederick J. DePeyster. Frederick DePeyster, Jr., the third son, became a vestryman and also clerk of the Vestry in 1825, continuing to serve in that capacity until 1839, during a part of which time he was also a vestryman of St. Ann's, Fort Washington, representing that church in Convention. He was president of the New York Historical Society and the Society Library and clerk of the Board of the Leake and Watts Asylum, which was directly opposite his father's old home in Bloomingdale, and the register of St. Michael's Church contains the records of his marriage in 1820 to Justina May Watts, whose father was one of the founders of that institution. By this marriage he became the father of the late General John Watts DePeyster. In 1835 Frederick DePeyster's fourth son, Abraham, who had been absent from the country for some years in Brazil, where he made a fortune, joined his three brothers on the Vestry. Like his elder brother, R. G. L. DePeyster, he died unmarried in his father's house. His burial in the DePeyster vault in St. Michael's churchyard is recorded in 1836.¹ In 1834, their dis-

¹ In the DePeyster Book, prepared by General John Watts DePeyster, the date of Abraham's death is given as 1830. According to the St. Michael's records the proper date is 1836. These records also show that the Genealogy is in error with regard to the daughters of Frederick DePeyster by his second wife, Ann Beekman. (According to the map of 1815 a John Beekman had a place just north of Caspar Meier's, about 120th Street and the North River.) He had, by his first wife, Helen Hake, five sons, and by his second wife, Ann Beekman (daughter of Gerard Beekman and granddaughter of Pierre van Cortlandt), six daughters, not five, as recorded in the Genealogy: Cornelia Beekman, born 1803, married Richmond Whitmarsh of North Carolina and Rhode Island (the baptism of two of their children is recorded at St. Michael's); Ann Frederica, born 1805, buried in the DePeyster vault in St. Michael's in 1840; Margaret, born 1806; Mary Elizabeth, born, 1808; Sarah Matilda Beekman, born 1813, whose sponsors were Philip Van Cortlandt of

tant cousin,¹ James DePeyster, was also added to the Vestry. He married Emily Maria Livingston, and the St. Michael's register contains the record of the baptism at Cheviot Hill, Livingston, Columbia Co., June 25, 1840, of their three children, Henry, Edgar and Beekman. One more DePeyster family appears on the records,—that of Frederick Augustus or Augustus Frederick. (It is characteristic of the method of record in those days that the same name appears under both forms.) Four of his children, Maria Roosevelt, Justina Watts, Jane Augusta, and Augustus, were baptized in St. Michael's between 1818 and 1837. His second daughter, born in the same year in which Frederick, Jr., married Justina Watts, was named after the latter; and besides the record of her baptism there appears also the record of her marriage, in 1837, at the house of her father, in Green Street, to Charles Fox Hovey of Boston. We have noted this family at some length, because of the important part which it played in the parish up to about 1840, when the aqueduct was built and the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum located just across the lane from the Frederick DePeyster homestead. After this the name disappears from the records,

Westchester, Sarah Beekman of St. Croix, and the mother; Catherine Matilda, born 1818 (given in the DePeyster Genealogy as 1822), sponsored by Philip Van Cortlandt, Catherine C. Clarkson, and the parents, who married Benjamin Hazard Field.

¹ Frederick DePeyster was descended from the original Johannes DePeyster through his third son, Hon. de Heer Abraham, his seventh son, Hon. Abraham, and his third son, James Abraham, being himself the eighth son of the latter. James was descended from the same original ancestor through a second Johannes; William, who married Margaret Roosevelt; Nicholas, who married Frances DeKay, and whose house stood at the one time terminus of the Bloomingdale Road, at 114th Street and Broadway; and James William, who married Anna DePeyster at Curaçoa in 1775.



FREDERICK DEPEYSTER HOUSE
On Site of Present St. Luke's Hospital.
From Painting in Possession of Mr. P. J. McIntyre,

only James F. De Peyster retaining his connection with the parish as warden and treasurer until his death.

As already stated, the old Bloomingdale families were much intermarried. Mr. Richmond was himself connected with a number of them through his marriage with the daughter of General Clarkson. James F. DePeyster, the treasurer of the church, married, as his second wife, another daughter of General Clarkson. Garrit Van Horne, one of the founders, married a sister of General Clarkson. Their daughter, Mary Johanna, married Adam Norrie, and the baptism of a daughter of the latter is recorded in the register. The vital history of not a few families is thus recorded through three generations. Under date of October 4, 1827, there is a record of the marriage of David Augustus Clarkson and Margaret Livingston, daughter of Edward P. Livingston, at Clermont, in the presence of Robert L. Livingston of Clermont, John S. Livingston, Edward Livingston of New Orleans, James R. Roosevelt, William B. Astor and lady and many others. In 1836 William B. Clarkson married Adelaide Margaret, daughter of Robert L. Livingston, and the births and burials of their children and grandchildren appear in the records of St. Michael's. Robert, son of Robert L. Livingston, married Frances A. Goodhue, daughter of Jonathan Goodhue, in 1836. Somewhat earlier Schuyler Livingston married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Susan Barclay, who was buried in St. Michael's in 1817. The church records show a continual interlacing of all these old families. In 1843 Dr. A. V. Williams married as his second wife (his first wife was a daughter of Wm. A. Davis, one of the founders), a sister of Mr. Richmond. The members of the church, including the rector, formed almost a family group.

The marriages and baptisms were often performed not in the church, but at private houses in the city, at country homes in Columbia County and elsewhere, or even in other churches, for the rector of St. Michael's seems to have been regarded by many of these old families as their special rector and pastor, even more than the rector and pastor of the city church to which they belonged.

Occasionally the records introduce us to persons or families who played an important part in civic life in New York or elsewhere. Some such have already been mentioned. To them may be added Judge Wendell, who was a vestryman from 1849 to 1850, and Hon. Gideon Lee, vestryman from 1829 to 1836, during part of which period he also held office in St. Mark's and St. James's Churches. He was the last mayor of New York elected under the old charter by the Common Council in 1833. In 1814 is recorded the marriage of Ralph Isaac Ingersoll of New Haven, later a prominent leader in the Democratic party in Connecticut, and father of Governor Charles Ingersoll, to Margaret Catherine Eleanora Vandenheuvel, daughter of Baron Vandenheuvel, the marriage taking place at the house of the latter, afterwards the Burnham Hotel, on 79th Street and Broadway.

James Renwick, who became a vestryman in 1819, was a well known engineer and professor in Columbia. He married Margaret Ann, daughter of Henry Brevoort, and two of their children were baptized at St. Michael's, Henry Brevoort in 1817, and in 1818 James, the famous architect, who designed Grace Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1849 is recorded the marriage of Fulton Cutting to Ellen Justine Bayard, at the house of her father, Robert Bayard, in Irving Place.

In 1834 the poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, stood witness at the baptism of Catherine DeKay and her mother, Janet Halleck, daughter of Joseph Rodman Drake, and wife of George C. DeKay; and it is noted that the water for this baptism was brought from the "river Jordan in India," by George C. DeKay.

Originally, as stated before, St. Michael's parish included the entire upper half, or rather much more than half of Manhattan Island, both east and west; and even after St. James's parish came into existence some of the east siders continued their connection with St. Michael's. This was true of the Rhinelanders. William Rhineland was a vestryman from 1808 to 1823 and his son, Frederick William, after him until 1828. In the register of St. Michael's Church there is recorded in the year 1815 the marriage of Mary Robart, daughter of William Rhineland, to Robert James Renwick, and the baptism of two children by that marriage, William Rhineland and Jane Jeffrey, in 1816 and 1818 respectively. William Rhineland himself was buried in St. Michael's churchyard in 1825. Isaac Jones continued a vestryman of St. Michael's until 1822. A baptism of a member of the Rutter family of Yorkville, Harriette Jane, daughter of John and Agnes, is recorded as late as 1837. Of the Wagstaffs, another east side family, three generations are recorded in St. Michael's Church from David and Sarah Ann, his wife (1769 to 1854), down through a second David and Sarah Ann, the granddaughter, baptized in 1820. It was, apparently, the possession of a vault in St. Michael's which kept the Wagstaffs in touch with that church, where, however, they were baptized and married as well as buried. Another east side family, the Delafields, appear to have been connected with St.

Michael's only by the possession of a vault there, in which four members of the family, a wife and three children of Dr. Edward Delafield, were buried between 1834 and 1851.

Several of the old Harlem families are also represented by marriage and baptismal records in St. Michael's register, and occasionally one appears as vestryman. Billop Benjamin Seaman married Hester Mary Cortwright in 1812 at the country seat of Edmund Seaman, Esq. Thirteen years later Edmund Cortwright (this is at times spelled Kortright) married Sarah Alice Baretto, in the presence of Mrs. Livingston, Gideon Lee, and others. In 1814 Guy Carleton Bailey (spelled in the records indifferently Bailey and Bayley) married Grace Roosevelt of "Haarlem." He became a vestryman of St. Michael's Church in 1812; later we find him also in the vestry of St. Andrew's Church, Harlem. Jacob Lorillard, who was elected warden in 1838, had land interests in both Harlem and Bloomingdale, but the former was his residence rather than the latter. He therefore declined the election to St. Michael's Vestry, but accepted Harlem.

Fort Washington and Carmansville people continued to be represented in the register of St. Michael's Church until quite a late date. Four children of John Church Hamilton, son of General Alexander Hamilton, were baptized there between 1818 and 1831. In 1846 is recorded the baptism of a granddaughter of Audubon, the naturalist. There are also several notices of marriages and baptisms of members of the Bradhurst family, whose place was at about 153d Street, and what is now St. Nicholas Avenue. The latest of these is the marriage, in 1845, of Hickson W. Field, Jr., to Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst, with the baptism of Eliza-

beth Bradhurst Field in the following year, among whose sponsors were John Jay and his wife. There is also a record of the burial of Mrs. John M. Bradhurst in 1858. Hickson Field, Sr., was one of the great merchants of the day, engaged in the China trade and the wholesale drug trade. He retired from business in 1838.

Among the old New York merchants who do not appear as founders or original pew-holders of St. Michael's Church, but who settled in Bloomingdale at a slightly later date was John Clendining (also spelled Clendening), formerly of Pearl Street. He retired from business in 1811, bought a piece of land extending from 99th Street to 105th Street and from 8th Avenue nearly to 10th Avenue, and built a substantial brick house on 104th Street in the very centre of what is now Columbus Avenue. Toward the middle of the century this house became the Marshall residence, and when 9th Avenue was opened it was moved bodily to the southwest corner of 104th Street and that Avenue. In the St. Michael's register are recorded the death of Letitia, wife of John Clendining, in 1843, the marriage of two of his children, Letitia and Jane, and the baptism and burial, in the Hazzard vault in St. Michael's churchyard, of a child of the former, three generations in all. Another of the great merchants of those days, whose name appears as vestryman from 1821 to 1825, was Isaac Lawrence of Pearl Street, who was also president of the Bank of the United States.

Sometimes little glimpses of romance connect themselves with the story told by the records. Jacob Schieffelin, one of the first founders, married a Quaker maiden, Lawrence by name. She, of course, was read out of meeting and became perforce a good Church-

woman. Her family remained staunch Quakers, and when Jacob Schieffelin gave the land for a church in Manhattanville his brothers-in-law instantly built a Quaker meeting-house by the side of it. Oliver H. Hicks, also one of the original founders, was himself a Quaker by origin. His uncle, Elias, was the founder of the Hick-site sect, but his father was orthodox. Oliver loved and married a Churchwoman, Julia Bush, and for love of her was read out of meeting and became a devoted Churchman. On part of his country place St. Michael's Church was built. The Royalist connection of many of the members of St. Michael's during its first two decades has already been pointed out. To the number of those mentioned in the first chapter should be added Robert T. Kemble, one of the original trustees and the first treasurer of the church, who had been Commissary General of the British forces in New York during the Revolution. His wife was a Miss Cadwalader of Philadelphia. They owned a large tract of land on the river in the general neighborhood of 104th Street. Later he became seriously involved financially, and the original property passed into other hands and was cut up into smaller places. Guy Carleton Bailey, of Harlem, mentioned above, who was vestryman from 1812 to 1815, and again from 1831 to 1834,¹ is another example of the old Royalist connection. He was named after Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, and later, in the last years of the Revolution, Clinton's successor as Commander of all the Colonies.

As already stated in the last chapter, it was the completion of the Hudson River Railroad, about the middle

¹ Unless, indeed, the different dates represent two different men, father and son.

of the century, which was the final factor in the passing of old Bloomingdale. In a letter written by the Rev. Franklin Babbitt of Nyack, N. Y., who was organist from 1851 to 1853, while still a student in the Seminary, and to whom the Vestry of St. Michael's in the latter year presented a black silk gown, "which I have yet, and which was then considered necessary to wear when preaching," gives some idea of the conditions at that period. He writes:

The choir was composed of Miss Catharine Williams, Miss Elizabeth Williams, myself and three boys,—David S. Jackson, Delancey B. Williams and William Andariese, and we thought we made very good music. St. Michael's was then in the hamlet of Bloomingdale—all country—more so than Nyack is now, and far away from the great city. I forget how I used to get there from the Seminary in 20th Street, but remember once walking and finding it a long walk over a dusty country road. About that time the corner-stone of Trinity Chapel was laid, when the clergy robed in Mr. Owen's house on 25th Street and the only one in the block between Broadway and Sixth Avenue. There was no Central Park then, and part of the land where the Park is now was occupied by Irish squatters. I was told, at the time, that the first suggestion of making it a park was by Dr. A. V. Williams, the one physician whom all Bloomingdale then employed and respected. When he made the suggestion, he was acting President of the New York Board of Aldermen.

By the end of that decade the change may be said to have been accomplished. A few of the old timers still continued at that period and a little later to occupy their country homes along the river, like the Punnetts, Malis, Weymans, and Furnisses. Mr. Furniss was the last to maintain the old traditions. Until his death,

in 1872, he drove up with his family from his city home in Bond Street every May, to the house on 101st Street, living there until November. Some of the old houses were leased to new comers, and still maintained as residences for a period. So General Sickles occupied the McKay-Schieffelin place and the Schwabs the Whitlock place. But in general each lessor was a descent in the scale from his predecessor. These houses were built originally for summer residences only; moreover, they had none of what are called modern conveniences, so that after a little, where inhabited, they came to be occupied by people of a very plain sort. A number of them were turned into hotels and one or two became the homes of institutions, like the Howland house, the Mott house, the Jackson house, and the old Jones mansion, Woodlawn, at 107th Street and Broadway. Some fell into ruins and not a few burned down. The houses along the river continued to be occupied as residences to a much later date than those farther inland, to the east of the Bloomingdale Road. The large properties about the latter were early turned into market gardens and truck farms, as the city, pushing northward, drove out the truck farms of an earlier period and caused the demand for new territory for that industry. The creation of Central Park drove a large part of the scavenger population domiciled there into the lands west of the Park, from 61st Street up to 87th Street or thereabouts, who soon created a new wilderness over the greater part of that region, such as they had earlier created in what is now the Park.

Difficulty of communication with the city caused Bloomingdale, a name which had now come to be applied to the region northward of 80th Street, to lag far behind other portions of the city which were in space

more remote. Harlem, on the east side of the city, grew rapidly along the line of the Harlem Railroad. Carmansville and Manhattanville were both connected with the city by the Hudson River Railroad, but there was no passenger station of that road in Bloomingdale. Consequently Manhattanville and Carmansville both grew, while Bloomingdale remained stationary, and the country residences in the Carmansville neighborhood continued to be occupied long after those of Bloomingdale were deserted. Farther southward, also, as narrated in the last chapter, the village of Harsenville sprang up on the old Harsen farm, which had originally extended from 69th to 72d streets and from Central Park to the river. For many years the only regular method of communication between Bloomingdale and the city was by the old Bloomingdale stages, which in those days ran from 33d Street and 6th Avenue up to Manhattanville, connecting there with other stages which went on to High Bridge. By 1864 the 8th Avenue horse-car line had been carried as far north as 84th Street and by 1867 it had reached Harlem. Along the streets which were cut through to 8th Avenue there grew up little settlements, for the most part of very plain people. One of these existed at 110th Street, another at 100th Street. A settlement of a little better character sprang up at 104th and 105th streets. School No. 54 was built on what is now Amsterdam Avenue at about this period, and from there over to the river on one side and 8th Avenue on the other extended a thin line of houses. Eighth Avenue, which ran at this point through a deep cut between high cliffs on either side, was reached from the houses on the bluff by a wooden staircase suspended from the side of the cliff, a perilous climb in wintry weather.

About the church itself there was also a small settlement. A tavern, now occupied as the rectory, stood opposite the church gate with a well and pump in front of it, which gave a supply of water to all that neighborhood. Next to this stood a blacksmith's shop, within the limits of what are the present church grounds. About this time St. Michael's ceased to be the only church of Bloomingdale. A Presbyterian church, now the Park Presbyterian Church at 86th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, was erected in a wood to the west of the Bloomingdale Road, at about 84th Street; and a few years later, in 1867, the Roman Catholics built a little wooden church of the Holy Name on the high rocks westward of what is now Amsterdam Avenue at about 97th Street.

Generally the population at this period and for many years afterwards, consisted of poor people, most of them very poor; but here and there, even at this period, some man of means would acquire property and build a handsome residence. At about 75th Street Fernando Wood erected a handsome stone residence, with very large and well kept grounds extending down to the river. On the hill at 92d Street, overlooking the Park, Mr. Henry Heiser built a large house with stables and greenhouses. Farther to the north, at 105th Street, was the residence of Mr. William P. Dixon. He was a large landholder, who built many of the houses already mentioned along 110th Street and in the neighborhood of 104th Street. At that time and for many years afterwards there were still enough people driving to St. Michael's Church each Sunday to make it resemble, with its gathering of horses and carriages, an old country church. These were the so-called "carriage people." Besides these, Bloomingdale Road was frequented on

Sundays, especially Sunday afternoons, by another and a different class of drivers. It was the favorite Sunday driving course, and was dotted with road hotels, not a few of them once old summer residences. Some of these were notorious for their evil character, as road-houses on the outskirts of cities almost always are.

This was the motley condition of St. Michael's parish at about and shortly after the time of Mr. Richmond's death. Old Bloomingdale had passed away and a condition of chaos had set in.

CHAPTER VI

Covers the Rectorship of Rev. Thomas McClure Peters, 1858-1893; and Tells the Story of the second Church, with a Sketch of the Manner in which Bloomingdale was swallowed up in the Great City.

AT the special meeting of the Vestry called to consider the death of Rev. Mr. Richmond, September 25, 1858, Rev. Thomas McClure Peters was unanimously elected rector of the church. As he had already worked in the parish as layman, deacon, and priest for seventeen years he was no stranger, either to its people or its ways, and indeed his new office was only a development of his former functions under a new name. His rectorship commenced, as has been set forth in the preceding chapter, at a period of change, when old Bloomingdale was giving place to chaos and market gardens. He had in the Vestry a valuable band of fellow workers; but outside of the Vestry there were almost no communicants and none upon whom he could rely for substantial support.

Following the great panic of 1857 there was a religious revival in New York and throughout the country, and at first glance the vital statistics of the parish, compiled from the Convention Journals and parish register,¹ would seem to show that St. Michael's felt the influence of this revival in an unusual degree. In 1856 Mr. Richmond had reported 55 communicants; in 1857 he

¹ See Appendix.



THE SECOND CHURCH

About 1860

Group in Foreground: Rev. T. M. Peters, and Sons, John and Andrew; in Gateway, Sexton, Wm. Twine

reports 113 communicants. There is, however, no corresponding increase in the number of confirmations, baptisms, etc., in that and the following year. In point of fact, as a study of the later records shows, the 113 communicants were for the most part from the House of Mercy and the Alms House, and represent an increase in the number of inmates in the House of Mercy rather than any increase in the parish proper. This is clearly shown by the purged list of Mr. Peters's first Convention report in 1859. According to that report there were then but 20 communicants in St. Michael's Church proper and 50 communicants in the Alms House. The communicants in the House of Mercy are not included in this report. The next year 29 communicants are reported. After this the number begins to increase. It is the baptisms, however, which increase with the greatest rapidity. From 21 in 1859 they jump to 119 in 1863, the confirmations increasing from 8 in the former year to 33 in the latter. This was due not to a normal increase in the adult parishioners of St. Michael's Church, but to an increase in the number of institutions, especially institutions for children, under the parochial charge of the rector of that church. So, in 1862, Mr. Peters reports to Convention that one half of the congregation of St. Michael's Church comes from the neighboring institutions; and in 1863 out of 246 services reported as held 82 were held in the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, House of Mercy, and Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum.

The latter institution was non-sectarian, and the superintendent at this time, Mr. Guest, was himself a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. Lying within the parish, the institution was early included in the work of the Mission to Public Institutions, in 1852,

and from that time on Mr. Peters used to hold there weekly services and instructions for the children, while on Sunday they attended the Dutch Reformed Church. Mr. Guest remarked that their interest in the week-day services held at the institution was much greater than their interest in the Sunday services at the Dutch Reformed Church, and after some observation and experimentation he concluded that this was due to the Episcopal liturgy, and that because of its liturgy the Episcopal Church was best adapted to children. So it happened that shortly after 1860 the children of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum commenced to attend St. Michael's Church and continued to do so for almost thirty years, until the institution was removed to Yonkers to make place for the Cathedral. Before they had attended St. Michael's long the rector began to utilize them in the service. A surpliced choir of boys, one of the first in New York, was formed out of their number, and an equal number of girls, not vested, sat behind the boys in a screened part of the chancel, and supported them. They constituted the choir for many years; and as a result of their service in the chancel of St. Michael's, two of the boys entered the ministry of the Church, the late Rev. R. M. Hayden, who succeeded Mr. Guest as superintendent of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, and Rev. J. L. Prevost, Missionary in Alaska. After Mr. Guest's death, in 1882, a memorial window was placed in the church by a number of the boys and girls who had marched down to that church under his lead on the Sundays of their childhood.

During the last years of Mr. Richmond's life increasing infirmities had interfered more and more with his work. The result was that as Mr. Peters, while assistant

at St. Michael's, was especially engaged at St. Mary's and All Angels', parochial activities reached a low ebb. According to the treasurer's report, from April 1, 1858, to April 1, 1859, the collections on Sundays for the expenses of the church amounted only to \$75.37; \$29 had been received for burials, and \$45.10 for rent. The church was, therefore, almost entirely dependent for its support upon its endowment. Of the collections for the poor and for various charitable and diocesan purposes there is no record in that year. The following year the collections of the congregation amounted to \$1080.90, of which \$276.84 was for the poor and \$105.84 for the Sunday School, Mission to Public Institutions, and St. Michael's Free Church Society. By 1861 the offerings had increased to \$1398.25 and by 1864 to \$2368.53, of which \$796.92 were for the poor and other objects within the parish, and \$1571.61 for the Mission to Public Institutions and other work outside of the parish. The new rector had evidently begun to canvass and organize the parish.

Mr. Peters felt strongly the necessity of educating the children of the neighborhood in religion and Church doctrine. In 1861 a committee of the Vestry was appointed to consider the subject of erecting a building for Sunday School purposes, the Sunday School, such as it was, having been held up to that time in the church building. The same year the Rector reports to Convention that a Mission Sunday School has been established half a mile away from the church and a room for Sunday School and lectures rented there; and at the vestry meeting of the following year the payment of \$150 rent for the same is approved and the rector authorized to continue the mission. This mission was conducted in 110th Street, where quite a large settlement of poor

people had grown up, and besides the Sunday School on Sunday, the room was also utilized for lectures and debating clubs during the week. Three years later this work was transferred to a building erected by the rector on land belonging to him on Bloomingdale Road, a little to the north of the church. In this movement to provide better educational facilities for the Sunday School and a work room for the parish, the Rector of St. Michael's Church was in line with the progressive movement of the day. In the earlier days Sunday Schools were held as a rule in the church galleries, the rector also at times gathering the children about the chancel rail and catechizing them. A little later the basements of the churches were turned into Sunday School rooms. This was done at St. Mary's while Mr. Peters was rector there. The next step was the erection of a separate building to accommodate the Sunday School; and by 1860 the more progressive churches of the city were erecting such buildings. Out of these Sunday School buildings were later developed the more elaborate parish-houses of the present day. The mission Sunday School in 110th Street with its missions and clubs during the week, and following this the special Sunday School building erected on Bloomingdale Road in 1864 and used during the week for lectures, debating societies, women's missionary and industrial meetings and the like, were the beginning of institutional life in St. Michael's Church and the seed of the later parish house.

The removal of the Sunday School from the church represented, also, an increase in the ideas of churchliness and reverence. The Church of the Holy Communion, consecrated in 1846, claims to have been the "first free church in this country; the first to establish early

communions; the first to establish weekly celebrations; the first to sustain daily prayers; the first to divide the services; the first to establish a choir of men and boys; the first to have a Christmas tree for poor children; the first to adorn altar and font with flowers."¹ It was not the first free church, as will appear from a preceding chapter. Whether the other claims are literally true I do not know. Certainly Dr. Muhlenberg was one of the pioneers and prophets of the Church, and the Church of the Holy Communion has in any case a glorious record of work initiated and achieved. Mr. Peters was in close sympathy with Dr. Muhlenberg, and their views in many respects were so similar that it is not surprising that the record of St. Michael's should in much resemble that of the Holy Communion. The early Communion, weekly celebrations, and daily prayer were established at St. Michael's about, or not long after, 1862, when they were still counted as marks of an "advanced church." Christmas trees Mr. Peters had started while still at St. Mary's, Manhattanville.

In one regard Mr. Peters differed from Dr. Muhlenberg. As already stated in a previous chapter he had been profoundly influenced during his seminary career by the Oxford High Church movement, and found himself in many things in sympathy with such men as the late Dr. Houghton, rector of the Church of the Transfiguration, whose ministrations in Bellevue Hospital also commended him to Mr. Peters. How highly the latter esteemed Dr. Houghton is shown by the fact that when the school established by him at Manhattanville was discontinued, he sent his sons and such others of the scholars in that school as he could influence to the similar parish school for pay pupils at the Church

¹ *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York.*

of the Transfiguration. Dr. Houghton was perhaps the first clergyman to establish in his church the daily Communion. This Mr. Peters never introduced, but he laid great stress on the sacramental life, and introduced eucharistic vestments, altar lights, and processional and altar crosses, at a time when these things were considered as rather doubtful and dangerous innovations. He was not a Ritualist, however, in the sense that he used ritual for its own sake. It was valuable in his estimation only in so far as it promoted greater reverence and intelligence in worship. He never introduced new practices merely because he liked them. He consulted the needs and desires of the worshippers in such a manner that whatever was introduced did not come to them as new and strange, requiring explanation and instruction, but as something which they had themselves desired and which corresponded to their needs and their intelligence. He was liberal and catholic, not rigid and sectarian; he did not undertake to make all worship in precisely the same manner, but endeavored to provide services differing in character, so that, as he wrote, all might have "the opportunity to worship at a time and in such a manner as they might elect." The Church was not his; he was the servant of the worshippers, whose duty it was to keep in touch with new movements in worship, as in everything else, and to mediate them to his people according to their needs. New as some of the things introduced at St. Michael's were in their day they never aroused opposition or even serious criticism. They met the needs of the worshippers, and Churchmen of opposite parties, and even, during his ministry, when there were few churches of other denominations easily accessible, communicants of different churches, from Roman

Catholic, on the one side, to Methodist, on the other, might be found amicably kneeling together at the chancel rail to receive the Sacrament.

Mr. Peters had not been rector many years when the war broke out. Party feeling ran high in the nation and made itself felt in the Church. There were all diversities of political creeds in St. Michael's Church, from copperhead to abolitionist. Two of the mayors of that period, representing hostile factions, Fernando Wood and Daniel F. Tiemann, were at the same time parishioners of St. Michael's. Mr. Peters was himself what was called a "War Democrat," loyal to the Government, supporting its war measures, but out of sympathy with the abolitionists on one side and the extreme States' rights Democrats on the other. Unable to go to the front himself, on account of his missionary and family obligations, he voluntarily provided a substitute. His house was also the centre of work for the soldiers in the field, and the present writer can well remember those meetings, with tables running the length of the great hall, and women around them cutting, sewing, rolling bandages; the thrill of excitement when some soldier appeared in uniform; the letters from soldier husbands, sons, and brothers that were passed from hand to hand; the anxious strained faces of some and the mourning weeds of others. In his report to the Convention of 1861 Mr. Peters mentions the fact that a German service for the benefit of a regiment encamped near by, recruiting and drilling, preparatory to being sent to the front, was held at eight o'clock each Sunday morning at St. Michael's Church. And yet with all his patriotism, politics never seemed to enter the church building. Copperhead and abolitionist worshipped together in peace and harmony, all party strife seemingly

laid aside at the doors of the sanctuary. Besides the attendance of the soldiers at the early service, and the occasional presence of a uniformed man in the congregation, the present writer can recall no other visible token of the war within the church until the death of Lincoln, when the little building was all draped in solemn black. In the Vestry records, however, there is curious evidence of the war, and of the need of income which led the Government to tax everything in sight, in the shape of a revenue stamp attached to the report of each meeting.

New York suffered terribly in those days. One sixth of the able-bodied male population of the city is said to have been in the army or navy at one time, and the population fell from 813,699 in 1860 to 726,836 in 1865. Bloomingdale suffered with the rest of the city, and in spite of the increase in baptisms and confirmations due to the institutions, the number of communicants and of families connected with the church remains for some time practically stationary. Financially, the Church seems on first consultation of the records not to have suffered. The increase of the collections, the mission Sunday School in 110th Street, and the erection of a Sunday School building near the church have been already noted. In 1863 Rev. J. D. Reid, teacher in the Manhattanville school, above referred to, was appointed assistant minister at a salary of \$250. In 1864 gas was introduced into the church, and at the same time the rector's salary was increased to \$3500, on account of "the increased cost of living," the sexton's salary to \$200, and the music appropriation to \$500. But a further study of the records of later years shows that all was not so prosperous as these items suggest. The debt incurred at the time of the construction of

the second church remained unpaid and unreduced during this period, as did the debt on the cemetery.

Strangely enough it was during these very war years that Mr. Peters laid, in close connection with his parochial work, the foundations of his great missionary and benevolent enterprises. After Mr. Richmond's death, it fell to him to assist and advise Mrs. Richmond in her work for saving fallen and unfortunate women. In 1863 he took over the care of the House of Mercy, then located at 86th Street and the North River, putting the same under the charge of the "Sisters." This set Mrs. Richmond free to take, in consultation with the Rector of St. Michael's, a further step, namely, to establish the Home for Homeless Women, into which might be received not merely those committed by the courts, but also such as were left without a lodging and needed shelter for a night or two. This was located at 304 Mulberry Street, close to Five Points, the very region in which Mr. Richmond had labored when rector of Zion Church.

In the next year, at the suggestion of Mr. Peters, the Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, which had died, and, as it was supposed, been buried, in 1847, was revived to take up the work of the Mission to Public Institutions, organized by Mr. Peters and Mr. Richmond, Mr. Peters becoming the chairman of the Executive Committee and practical head of the new society. The following year this society took over Mrs. Richmond's Home for the Homeless, rechristening it St. Barnabas's House, and set Mrs. Richmond free to take still another step in her rescue work for women, namely the establishment of a home to care for husbandless mothers and fatherless children, saving the former from a life of shame and the latter from present misery and the pros-

pect of an early death. To establish this she came back into the territorial limits of St. Michael's parish, and with the advice and support of the rector of that parish, founded in the old colonial mansion of Nicholas Jones, then known as Woodlawn, at 106th and 107th streets and what is now Broadway, "The New York Infant Asylum."

Besides these institutions for women, in which Mr. Peters had collaborated with Mrs. Richmond, he himself established, in 1864, the Sheltering Arms, to care for deserted children for whom there was no other institution. For this purpose, as narrated elsewhere, he gave up his own house, moving into the old Whitlock house at 110th Street and Bloomingdale Road. In his Convention address of 1865, Bishop Horatio Potter thus refers to this institution:

On Thursday, the 6th day of Oct. 1864, I assisted at Bloomingdale, N. Y., at the opening of the institution of the "Sheltering Arms" for friendless, destitute children. In this case, a clergyman of the Diocese, the Rev. T. M. Peters, Rector of St. Michael's, Bloomingdale, removed from a spacious dwelling having ample grounds, his private property, and dedicated the place to one of the most touching and important charities ever established in this City. It is for children who may be worse than orphans through the misconduct of their parents. May the dwelling which he has so generously devoted to a sacred use be the happy home of the once wretched and neglected for long years to come, the birthplace of new thoughts and new affections, and the germ of a gracious instrumentality destined to grow and enlarge its means and its influence beyond all present hope. It is under the care of two of the "Sisters."

In 1865 St. Barnabas House was also placed in the

charge of the Sisters. They were as yet, however, only "Sisters" by courtesy. But now Dr. Peters (in 1865 Trinity College bestowed upon him the degree of S. T. D.) took a new and very bold step forward, as narrated more fully elsewhere. Carrying out the earnest desire of the "Sisters" themselves he proposed to the Bishop the formal creation of a Sisterhood recognized by the Church, and suggested the reference of this proposition to a Committee of Advice. The result was the setting aside or ordination in St. Michael's Church in 1865 by Bishop Horatio Potter of five Sisters, consecrated to a life of prayer and service. It was the first time such a service had been held in the English-speaking Protestant Church since the Reformation.¹ The Bishop thus refers to this service in his Convention address of 1865:

In my address to the last Convention it was mentioned that the internal care and management of the "House of Mercy" were in the hands of several of those "Sisters" who were formerly in St. Luke's Hospital. Three others have been added to their number, and they are now dividing their services between the "House of Mercy," the "Sheltering Arms," an institution opened a few days after the last Convention and designed for the care of children who are friendless and destitute, though not without parents, and "St. Barnabas' House" in Mulberry Street, in this city, which is a house of reception in connection with the House of Mercy. As these Sisters desired to place themselves immediately under Episcopal supervision, and as the subject was one of some delicacy as well as difficulty, I ap-

¹ Besides the work in the institutions the Sisters also acted at that time as district nurses. It is characteristic of the attitude of charitable workers in those days and the ignorance regarding germ diseases that Sister, afterwards Mother Harriet, came to the church for her ordination from the bedside of a smallpox patient, returning to her patient immediately after the ceremony.

pointed an able committee of Clergymen, and drew up for their consideration a number of questions touching the special employment of single women in works of piety and charity, and the organization of such persons into an association. They presented to me an elaborate and instructive report; and having taken some time for consideration, I proceeded to receive and sanction the offering which these earnest Christian women so much desired to make in the especial and exclusive dedication of themselves under the guidance and sanction of the Church, to works of piety and charity. I need scarcely say that in the Association there are no irrevocable vows, no engagements which could interfere to prevent their return to ordinary positions in life, should any claim of duty from friends or relatives unexpectedly arise to require it. In the meantime, they have the aid and comfort of mutual society and counsel, they have a recognized and protected position, they have the strength and consolation that comes from feeling that they are wholly dedicated to a holy work, and they are so sequestered from trivial cares and interruptions that they can give themselves with tenfold efficiency to their labors of love.

St. Michael's was now the centre of a great institutional and missionary life, several of the vestrymen were trustees in the institutions above described, or active in the City Mission Work, and not a few of the women of the parish were also concerned in those works, while a large part of the attendants at the Church were members of various institutions. That "portion of the auditorium immediately under the spire is reserved for the Sisters and the children under their charge, who are attached to the Sheltering Arms, while the whole of the west end for some six rows of pews deep is devoted in the same manner to the inmates of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum."¹ In a

¹ *Northender*, 1867.

church whose capacity was 400, there were gathered every Sunday over 200 children from these two institutions.

St. Michael's was at this time pre-eminently a children's church. Apparently continuing and developing something which he found already in existence, Dr. Peters made Whitsunday afternoon the occasion of a great annual children's service in the church. Besides the children of the Sunday School, which was rapidly increasing in size, of the Leake and Watts and the Sheltering Arms, the children of the New York Orphan Asylum marched up to St. Michael's on that day, crowding the little church with children down to the doors. At those services the children presented their missionary offerings, the New York Asylum for the support of a child in India (Presbyterian mission), the Sheltering Arms for a boy in Africa, etc., and the speaker on those occasions was ordinarily not a clergyman of the Church. To this day the Whitsunday children's festival is maintained, the children of the Sheltering Arms, the Protestant Half-Orphan Asylum, and the Darragh Home for cripples joining with the children of St. Michael's Sunday School in that service.

Dr. Peters dearly loved children, and understood them as only one can understand who also loves them. He knew every child in the institutions by name, and in the Sheltering Arms each year until the day of his death he named the dolls for all the little girls, never forgetting or repeating a name. Even children who did not know him would greet him, recognizing in him a comrade and a friend. In his later years, near Christmas time, one little child accosted him in the street as Santa Claus, and confided to him her holiday hopes and wishes.

In 1867 the Executive Committee of the City Missionary Society proposed to Dr. Peters that he should assume the practical direction and management of that society at a salary of \$3000, still continuing to act, however, as rector of St. Michael's Church. He laid the proposition before the Vestry, which at a meeting held December 7, 1867, by a vote of five to three, consented to his acceptance on condition that he should continue to conduct personally morning service at St. Michael's and should provide a competent assistant at a salary of \$2500, to be paid by himself. The reason why this plan was not carried through is recorded elsewhere. It certainly was to the advantage of St. Michael's that it failed to become effective.

In the same year Dr. Peters commenced a new mission work in a settlement of ragpickers and scavengers which had grown up to the west of Central Park, from 86th Street southward. The old residents of Central Park, the scavengers and ragpickers of a former period, were of mixed nationality, many of them negroes. At the opening of the Park this element disappeared and the new settlement consisted chiefly, if not altogether, of Germans. They were squatters, occupying little shanties on the rocks, their trade, so far as they had any, being to remove and dispose of ashes and garbage. A great quantity of the rubbish which they removed from shops and houses was piled up about their homes, so that the settlement was dotted with small mountains of ashes, fringed with tin cans and other rubbish. The houses were built largely of old boxes, thrown out as rubbish, and timbers salvaged from the river, on which were nailed tin cans beaten out flat. The settlement was intersected by a labyrinth of lanes into which it was dangerous for a stranger to venture alone, not so

much on account of the people as on account of the dogs. These latter, many of which served to draw the ash and garbage carts, were often large and fierce, and when not harnessed up or engaged in fighting with one another acted as watch-dogs to their precincts, combining to attack every strange thing, man, beast or inanimate which entered therein. There was no sanitary provision in this large settlement for soul or body. For some time Dr. Peters sought in vain a way of entrance into this strange and neglected community. Then, in 1867, an outbreak of typhus fever, of which many died, gave him the entrance which he sought. He was sent for to say a prayer over the dead body first of one and then another, and soon became acquainted with the people. High up on the rocks, on one of the narrow, crooked lanes that wound among the wretched but picturesque shanties, one old fellow had built a rough board house, in which he kept a school, receiving a few pennies from each child per week. Dr. Peters, looking for some place in which religious services might be held, had fixed on this as the only possibility for such a purpose. For some time he could not secure it and then suddenly and unexpectedly it came into his possession. He was called to officiate at a German funeral. It proved to be the funeral of the old schoolmaster himself and was held in the unsealed, unplastered school-house, with its refuse boards for seats. After the service had been said and before the procession had departed for St. Michael's Cemetery, Dr. Peters comforted the widow, who was loudly bewailing her fate, thus left without support, by buying the house and contents for the sum which she asked. Here he at once commenced a mission for the degraded and forsaken inhabitants of that settlement. The first public reference to

this work appears in the City Mission Report of the same year, and by 1870 a small church and school building, Bethlehem Chapel, had been constructed.

From this time on until 1886, Bethlehem Chapel was dependent partly upon the City Mission Society, partly upon St. Michael's Church, and throughout all this period its records, of baptisms, marriages, etc., were entered in the register of St. Michael's. From the outset of his work in the public institutions Dr. Peters had known how to utilize lay service, to the advantage of the laymen and laywomen rendering such service and the good of the work in which they served. So now, small and feeble as St. Michael's was, he still found in it men and women not only to man its own Sunday School, but also to conduct a Sunday School and industrial classes at Bethlehem Chapel, to visit there, and to contribute toward its support.

Shortly after the commencement of the work at Bethlehem Chapel, another great change began in Bloomingdale. The Boulevard, as it was at first called, now Broadway, was laid out and the land condemned for its construction. From this time on for the next twelve or fifteen years Bloomingdale was in an almost indescribable condition of upheaval and destruction. Every few months a new street was opened. These ran as deep cuts through the hills and as huge causeways of loose rocks over the valleys. In between were either low bottom lands, utilized by some thrifty German as a market garden, or rocky hills on the top of which, accessible only by strange stairways, hanging perilously to the sides of precipices, little modern shanties stood side by side with old tumble-down mansions. The streets were unpaved, except for a line of slate slabs forming foot-paths on either side,



PERIOD OF TRANSITION: CUTTING THROUGH OF 94TH STREET

Showing Old Barn and House on Mott Lane

which, after a little, settled, forming deep slanting holes, varied by sharp ridges where the edges of two slabs came together. Never by any chance were sewers, water-pipes, and the like provided for in the first construction of the street. Again and again were these new-made roads torn apart for the addition of these various adjuncts of a modern city highway. To the onlooker it seemed as though the special purpose of this method of construction was to increase the expense to the city and the profit to the politicians and contractors who engineered and built the streets. During that time the aqueduct was removed¹ and the pipes laid under Tenth Avenue, which was consequently opened in fact as it long had been in law. This disturbed portions of the two old burying grounds of the church, and in 1872 it is reported to the Vestry that "six boxes of bones from the old church-yard at 99th Street and burying ground at 104th Street," have been reinterred in Astoria. The whole region was afflicted during this period with sickness of a malarial character, supposed to be due to continual tearing up of the land. The Rector's own family were obliged to leave Bloomingdale and seek health elsewhere, he only remaining at his post. Gradually order began to come out of this chaos. By 1880 the elevated railroad was running, and there were surface cars on Amsterdam Avenue. A number of streets had assumed their final shape, and blocks of houses were beginning to spring up here and there. Bloomingdale had disappeared forever and a new city was beginning to arise, with its interminable rows of apartment houses.

¹Fragments of it remained for years lying between blocks, some sections serving as mushroom farms, some as residences, and some as general nuisances.

One of the results of the opening of the Boulevard was the removal of the Sheltering Arms. To accommodate the increased number of children which the institution was called on to provide for, an annex, a large wooden structure intended to be of a temporary character, had been added to the original building in 1866. Through this the new road passed. When the Sheltering Arms sought new quarters, on the land adjoining St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, originally acquired by Dr. Peters and Mr. Punnett for St. Michael's Free Church Society, Dr. Peters bought this annex and moved it to the northwest corner of 99th Street and old Bloomingdale Road, where he had purchased three lots for the protection of the church property opposite. This building he turned into Lyceum Hall, with lodge and club-rooms, as well as his own study and office, on the upper floor, Sunday School rooms on the second floor, and living apartments for the sexton, janitor, etc., on the first floor. To this building the Sunday School and the various clubs and organizations of St. Michael's Church were now transferred. It was a healthy and wholesome church life which found its centre in that building. In spite of the upheaval of the neighborhood the Church was steadily growing, from 79 communicants in 1864 to 150 in 1869, 179 in 1874, and 298 in 1879; but it was still small enough to render it possible for all the members to know one another, for Dr. Peters seemed to know how to give every one in the congregation a part to perform. The altar was decorated in those days by flowers which were raised by the parishioners in their own gardens and many had a little patch, consisting, it might be, of only two or three little plants, set aside especially as "God's Garden," the flowers produced there being their tribute of beauty to God's house. All

the workers were organized into a guild, the different sections of which made reports at stated meetings of the whole, so that all shared in and were informed about the various works of the Church, both parochial and missionary. Every year there was a Sunday School excursion or picnic in which all took part, in the latter years always on the grounds of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, and frequent gatherings of a more or less social character were held under the auspices of the Guild. Rev. C. T. Ward, who was assistant during a great part of this time, also conducted a singing school in Lyceum Hall, which was intended both to improve the congregational singing and also to serve as a social club for the young people of the neighborhood. Bloomingdale was still sufficiently cut off from the city at large to constitute an entity in itself; and the church still remained a country church inwardly as well as outwardly.

Besides its normal parochial work and the institutional work described above, St. Michael's was also, through its rector, during a considerable part of this period the almoner of the City for the entire upper west side. As in 1832 the City had made the then rector of St. Michael's, Rev. Wm. Richmond, a health officer, with power to order and spend as he saw fit; so now it made the Rector of St. Michael's the actual poor officer for the region from 59th Street to Kingsbridge, turning over to him the money to be distributed in out-of-door poor relief. He was the only person the city knew in the matter; but in carrying out the work entrusted to him he used to associate with himself as a committee, ex-Mayor Tiemann of Manhattanville and a Roman Catholic priest at Kingsbridge. Later when the Society for the Relief of the Poor districted the

city this region was left undistricted and turned over to St. Michael's. Even while rector of St. Mary's, in the hard times following the panic of 1857, Dr. Peters had given relief through work, by employing men to quarry and haul stones for a future St. Mary's, and to macadamize Lawrence Street, and men seeking employment used to report at the Rectory; so now it was not an unusual sight, especially in periods of distress, like 1873, to see one hundred laborers gather of a morning at Lyceum Hall to ask for employment on some of the work of street construction and the like in progress in Bloomingdale.

In 1876 Dr. Peters became president of the House of Rest for Consumptives. This institution was at Tremont, but Dr. Peters contrived to bring it quite close to the church by appointing members of the parish to visit there, and engaging others to labor in providing clothing, papers, books, and the like for the inmates. Still closer to the life of the church came the Children's Fold and the Shepherd's Fold, of which he became president in 1877. A large number of children were installed in the two houses behind Lyceum Hall, which still stand within the church close. The Mott house at 94th Street, and later the Heiser house, at 92d Street and 8th Avenue, were utilized for another considerable section of children. Smaller groups of children were placed in the houses of various trusty parishioners. The city paid so much for the care of each child, the institution undertaking for that sum their care and training, providing by outside subscriptions whatever additional sum was needed for this purpose. In the neighborhood of three hundred children were cared for in the immediate vicinity of St. Michael's Church by these two institutions, and the whole parish,



THE SECOND CHURCH, AFTER THE CLOSING OF BLOOMINGDALE ROAD AND THE OPENING
OF TENTH AVENUE ABOUT 1880

To Left of Picture, Buildings Used for Children's Fold, and afterwards for Temporary Parish House

from the richest to the poorest, took perforce an interest in the children in their care, sewing for them, teaching them in the Sunday School and in industrial classes, visiting them, providing Christmas festivals in winter and excursions and outings in the summer, many also finding their profit in boarding the little ones themselves, receiving at the same time an education in home making under the supervision and direction of the authorities of the institution.

Besides this institutional work, Dr. Peters also undertook in these years a mission work in the mountain and lake country of northern New Jersey. Here the Cooper Hewitt interests owned large tracts of land with iron mines, Mr. Hewitt having his home at Ringwood, where Dr. Peters was a frequent guest. The people of that region were, when Mr. Hewitt first interested himself in the mines, a half-savage population, living by fishing and hunting with a little cultivation of the soil; a mixed race, partly white, partly black, partly red, descended from the negro slaves who had worked the mines in the olden times and the Indian and white refugees who had drifted into the region. Mr. Hewitt undertook to civilize them by industry, education, and religion. For the latter he called on Dr. Peters for assistance. On his occasional visits to Ringwood Dr. Peters used to hold services in the school-houses which Mr. Hewitt built, and tramp through the mountains, visiting the people in their cabins, talking with them, instructing them in religion, and baptizing the children. Most of the inhabitants of middle age through that region to-day will tell you that they were baptized by him. In addition to this, regular services were held every Sunday in the school-house at Ringwood by one of Dr. Peters's assistants, or by a lay-reader, who gener-

ally was a member of St. Michael's parish. At one of Mr. Hewitt's villages, Charlottesburg, near Newfoundland, in a beautifully picturesque valley in the Ramapo Hills, Dr. Peters, in conjunction with the superintendent of the works, commenced to build a small church, the money for which was collected from St. Michael's congregation and personal friends. All this work was reported regularly at St. Michael's Guild meetings, so that the whole parish was kept personally in touch with the mission. Ultimately the iron works at Charlottesburg were abandoned and the village deserted. The houses stood untenanted in the lonely valley, and the place came to be known as the "Deserted Village." Here until within a very few years could be seen the foundations of the church laid by parishioners of St. Michael's parish. As to the further history of the Ringwood mission—the Methodists began to build churches at intervals through the mountains, planting resident ministers in convenient centres. These men, who were on hand week-days and Sundays alike, were of the people, congenial to them. Finally, in 1892, Mr. Hewitt thought it best to withdraw his assistance from the Church mission and leave the work among the miners to the Methodists. Dr. Peters's mission, however, had not been fruitless in good results either for the mountaineers or for St. Michael's parish which had assisted him.

During these years the church itself had gradually been made more comfortable and much more beautiful. In 1867 a vestry room was added at an expense of \$650; and in 1873 this was enlarged to meet the needs of a growing choir. In 1867 also the organ was repaired and at the same time moved from the tower on the south of the chancel, where it had been heretofore, to

the north side of the chancel. The tower thus freed was used to furnish much needed additional seats for children of the institutions. At the same time the church was carpeted at an expense of \$350. In 1868 the church began to acquire its own Communion silver, the flagon dating from that year. In 1872 the Rector, in his annual sermon, told the people that the chalice and two patens, which had been used for the Communion during the sixty-five years since the foundation of the church, belonged to Trinity. It was Queen Anne silver and Trinity asked for its return. In answer to his appeal a paten, chalice, and ciborium were purchased in that year. Two years later he suggested to the congregation that some of them had objects of silver or gold which had belonged to children or others now dead, which objects they did not like to use, and would not wish to have pass into the hands of others. These could be melted down to make an alms-basin, which would itself be a memento of the dear ones whose memory they cherished. The idea appealed to the congregation. Some of the gifts offered were very touching. For instance, the wife of a former warden put in the alms-basin some gold pieces which her husband had handed her for household purposes on the day he died, and which she had never been willing to spend. All these gifts which became thus the memorial of many departed ones, especially little children, were turned into the present alms-basin. The remainder of the Communion service was not procured until after 1880, the last piece dating from 1887.

On November 23, 1876, the Church Guild proposed to the Vestry to procure the painting and decoration of the church without expense to the latter, Messrs. Leopold Eidlitz & Son, the architects, offering their services

to design and oversee the work, and Messrs. D. F. Tiemann & Co. offering to furnish the paint, both being members of the congregation. The work was completed that winter and on April 14, 1877, thanks are returned to Messrs. Leopold Eidlitz & Son for planning and supervising the interior decoration of the church, which made it one of the most beautiful and attractive little churches in the city. A description of the proportions and architecture of the church contained in the *North-ender* of 1868 is recorded in the Vestry minutes at about that time:

It is fifty feet front by seventy deep, and the height from the floor of the nave to the peak is forty two feet. At the East end is the Chancel, which is fifteen feet deep by twenty wide. It has ample accommodations for the Bishop and six clergymen, besides room for conducting the services. The spire starts from the south side of the Chancel, and rises to eighty feet in height, its apex being crowned with an iron cross weighing 700 pounds. Adjoining the north side of the Chancel is the Choir, which contains an excellent organ of approved modern construction. Still beyond this, in a small building erected for the purpose, is the sacristy. The Chancel is lighted by a superbly designed and finished transparent window, with grained transoms, and mullions, the latter forming interlaced arches at the top, the whole being glazed with exquisitely elegant tinted and richly ornamental stained glass, in which various devotional emblems are faithfully depicted. Indeed, the whole of the glass throughout the house is finished in like appropriate and tasteful manner. On the sides of the main building the windows are petite and lancet shaped, while in the clerestory they are rectangular. The roof is supported by columns and trusses, the latter artistically braced and ornamented. The whole interior is of oak, as are the furniture and fittings throughout, with the single exception



INTERIOR OF SECOND CHURCH
About 1880

of the Baptismal Font, which is of Caen Stone. The strict Gothic order of architecture is preserved, even in the most minute details of the interior and furniture. All of the flooring is neatly carpeted, most of the seats are comfortably cushioned; the ventilating and warming arrangements are excellent; the reflected light from the stained glass is most grateful to the eyes, and altogether this is among the most inviting Churches we have lately visited.

During those years also the work of the church was more effectively manned and its financial position greatly improved. During the rectorship of Mr. Richmond from time to time assistants had been appointed to enable him to found a new church or to carry on the large outside work in which he was interested. In 1867 begins the regular provision for an assistant for the Rector. In that year \$200 was appropriated for that purpose, and from the report to the Convention we learn that Rev. A. H. Warner, later rector of the Church of the Beloved Disciple, was then appointed assistant—naturally at a much larger salary, the addition being provided by the Rector himself or from outside sources. The following year a larger sum, \$500 was appropriated, and the Rev. C. T. Ward became assistant. And from that time on the Rector of St. Michael's had at least the assistance of one clergyman in his work. In the same year, 1867, we find the Vestry considering the question of the sale of the down-town property, and the reinvestment of the proceeds in land uptown. It was decided, however, to follow the more conservative and less speculative method of retaining the down-town property and gradually buying in the houses built on those lots. The first house so purchased was that on the lot at 56 Vesey Street, in 1869; and after that, from time to time, as opportunity offered and the old leases

fell in, the buildings were bought, and the property leased on shorter terms of three or five years.

In 1869, in his annual sermon, the Rector informed the congregation that the church owed a debt of \$16,000, —\$8000 of which had been incurred in the purchase of the cemetery at Astoria and the remainder in connection with the erection of the church. Since the building of the church in 1854 the interest paid had been more than the original amount of the loan; and he urges the congregation to make an effort to remove the debt, which was not accomplished, however, until after 1879. In 1871 a printing press was purchased, and some of the young people about the church gave their services for the printing of notices, programmes, etc. This voluntary work continued to be given for some time and proved very valuable in the administration of the parish. Little by little the church began to use printing in a more extensive manner, and finally in 1880 the first year book, a report to the congregation and neighborhood of the work of the church, was issued. In the first issue of that annual periodical, which was very small and modest, much prominence is given to the collection then being made to complete the Communion service.

The successive year books give a detailed history of the parish, showing the gradual organization of various institutions which are still effective. A young men's association with twenty-nine members was organized in 1880, preparing the way for the chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, which was established in 1887. In 1888 the Misses Eastman and Lawrence organized the Boys' Guild, still in existence. About the same time appears the Twenty-Minute Society, out of which had grown by 1890, St. Agnes's

Guild. This method of talking to the parish, reporting the work, and explaining the need of more work, proved so effective that by 1890 it seemed desirable to commence the publication of a parish paper, the *St. Michael's Messenger*, which continues to this day.

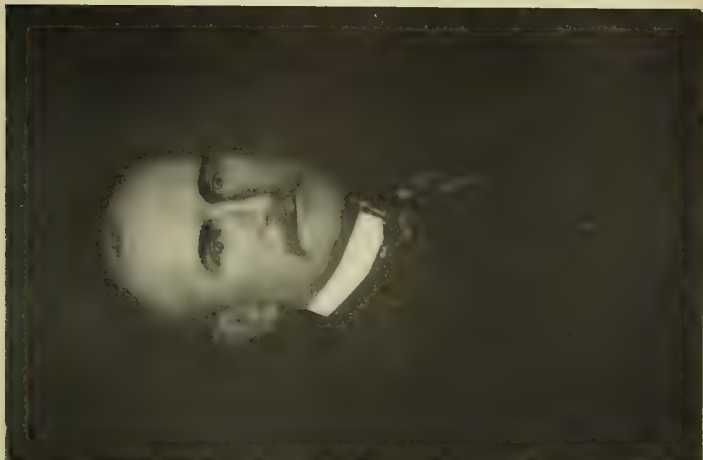
It has already been stated that when Dr. Peters became rector of St. Michael's he was supported by an unusually strong body of vestrymen. Long before the changes which have been noted were completed, these had all passed away or left the parish. In 1859 the Vestry records the death of their fellow member, Thomas A. Richmond. In 1862, appears a minute on the death of Dr. A. V. Williams "for thirty-three years member of this Vestry, twenty-seven years Junior Warden of St. Michael's Church; and twenty-two years Clerk of the Vestry." Not only is the customary reference made to his Christian character and his services to the church as such but also to his "public life," and the "debt of gratitude" which the Vestry "as citizens" owe to him "for his unceasing activity in the cause of general education and mental advancement."

In 1865 is recorded the sudden death of Mr. Albert McNulty; in 1867 the death of H. W. T. Mali; and in 1870 the death of James Punnett. Of the latter the minute says that, "having learned from Christ 'who' was his neighbor, his unfailing liberality knew no bounds of race or creed. His charities, unostentatious, and yet too widely dispensed to be all concealed, have endeared his name to those among whom he has for years ceased to dwell and will long continue precious in the memories of the poor."

In 1874 appears a minute on the death of James F. DePeyster, vestryman and treasurer of the church since 1818, and warden since 1830, expressing the

Vestry's deep sense of the obligations of St. Michael's Church to its late treasurer, "to whose prudent and vigilant care of its finances the present prosperity of the church is largely due," and noting also the evidences of "his increasing affection through the whole course of a long life, in the church of his younger days; an affection which the removal of his residence did not abate and which survived the departure from earth of all his early associates," and the Vestry further directs that in memory of his long service to the church the lectern shall be draped in mourning for the space of thirty days.

All these were men who had rendered services of especial value to the church, and all of whom had also supported Dr. Peters in his various missionary enterprises. Others of Dr. Peters's most valued friends and supporters, like Mr. von Post and Mr. Schwab, had removed from the neighborhood and ceased their connection with St. Michael's, although continuing to co-operate with Dr. Peters in his missionary and institutional enterprises. There follows a period when it was extremely difficult to find in the parish of St. Michael's Vestry material, that is, religious men, actual members of the Church, who were also conversant with affairs and competent to be entrusted with the management of business interests. In 1873 Mr. W. R. Peters became acting treasurer and in 1874 treasurer, in succession to Mr. DePeyster. In 1877 Mr. E. L. Tie-mann became acting clerk and in the following year clerk of the Vestry, succeeding Dr. Brown. These two men turned their endeavors to improving the business side of the Vestry and of the church work. Heretofore as a rule there had been but one regular Vestry meeting a year, with an occasional special



WILLIAM RICHMOND PETERS,
1874-



JAMES FERGUSON DEPEYSTER
1818-1874

TWO TREASURERS OF ST. MICHAEL'S

meeting as need arose. Now meetings become more frequent, and finally regular meetings are held each month except during the summer. The reports of committees become more systematic and the minutes of the Vestry begin to furnish an accurate and detailed account of the affairs of the church. Finally in 1886 vestry by-laws are adopted and the whole organization and method of action of the Vestry and its committees carefully systematized. The debt of the church, incurred at its construction, is paid off. They, with the rector, become also a committee on the cemetery, which they undertake to turn into a profitable property financially. This requires much time and close attention, and the records of the Vestry show the results. In the next few years immense improvements of and additions to the cemetery are reported, of which a further account will be given in a separate chapter. Finally by 1890, the financial situation of St. Michael's has become such that a paid assistant to the treasurer is required, and Mr. Tylee W. Parker is engaged at a salary of \$50 a month to collect the rents, oversee the repairs of buildings, and in general assist the treasurer in everything but keeping the books.

Already in his annual sermon of 1872 Dr. Peters had called the attention of the congregation to the need of more liberal contributions. The total amount contributed for parochial purposes at that time was \$1268.54; for the poor, \$248.24; towards the support of various charitable purposes, \$551.01; for missionary objects, \$713.35. It appears that in that year contributions had fallen off over \$800 from the preceding year and that the offerings for the poor, taken chiefly from the Communion alms, were altogether insuffi-

cient to meet the "pressing necessities of our own communicants." The offerings for charities in proportion to the means of the congregation were very good, and owing to the introduction of missionary boxes in the homes of the parishioners, the missionary offerings were also creditable; there had been an increase in the offering for the Sunday School but for the general support of the church work a falling off of \$100 in the weekly envelope collection for current expenses is noted. Those offerings amounted all told to about \$800, while the music, the sexton's salary, and the cost of heating the church amounted to about \$2000 a year. The matter of increasing the receipts is taken up in repeated vestry meetings. Circulars are prepared and issued to members of the congregation and an effort is made to obtain from each individual in the congregation a systematic contribution towards the support of the church. It must be confessed that the results of these appeals were not altogether satisfactory. Contributions were increased, it was true, and a larger number brought to contribute systematically towards the support of the work of the church, but the endowment still remains its principal source of maintenance.

In 1883 Dr. Peters was given a leave of absence for ten months for his health, which he used in a trip around the world with his brother, E. D. Peters. His son, Rev. John P. Peters, was put in charge of the church during his father's absence. At that time at least one-half of the baptisms, marriages, and burials performed at St. Michael's were in German. There was a large German population of poor people in the neighborhood and no German church. In

addition, therefore, to the German services at Bethlehem Chapel, Rev. John Peters preached once a month in German in the parish church. After his father's return, in 1884, and his own removal to Philadelphia, he was appointed assistant for the purpose of continuing these German services in St. Michael's and to preach once a month in English.

It was during Dr. Peters's absence that Bishop Horatio Potter becoming incapacitated by increasing infirmities, his nephew, Henry C. Potter, then rector of Grace Church, was elected Assistant Bishop of the Diocese. To emphasize his sense of the importance of missionary activities within the Diocese he commenced his Episcopal functions by officiating in the Penitentiary on Blackwell's Island. Then came the effort to stir up and revive the spiritual life of the Church in New York, culminating in the great Advent mission of 1885, in which St. Michael's took part. Preparation for this mission was made for months in advance by a house to house visitation and by the careful training of choirs to sing in the daily services. The missionary at St. Michael's was Rev. Dr. Van de Water, now rector of St. Andrew's Church. What the result of the mission was in the Church at large the present writer cannot say, but, so far as St. Michael's Church was concerned, it is difficult to determine from the record of vital statistics whether any very great impression was produced. At about that time the normal increase in communicants, confirmations, and the like had already become very large.

Before this time the neighborhood had changed its character, and as a result great changes were taking place in the church. In the report to Convention

in 1880, reference is made to the fact that the congregation of Bethlehem Chapel is much broken up by the construction of wooden dwellings west of 8th Avenue. With the erection of the Elevated Railroad the squatter settlement, to serve which Bethlehem Chapel had been erected, began to be removed to make place for buildings of a new sort, the poor German population moving across the river to Gutenberg, or farther downtown to the neighborhood of 60th Street and 10th Avenue, but still continuing for many years to regard themselves as members of St. Michael's and to appeal to its clergy for help and for the rites of the Church. A constantly diminishing mission work was continued at Bethlehem until about 1886, the clergy of St. Michael's and some of the members of the parish giving their services to maintain that work as before. Then St. Matthew's Church was organized to take the place of Bethlehem Chapel and minister to the new population which had moved in, and with the organization of that church the responsibility for that neighborhood which had rested upon St. Michael's was felt to be removed. At the same time a new work was begun to the northward. A large population was moving in to the territory north of Central Park and east of Morningside, a region which was not provided for by any other church. Accordingly, Rev. Montgomery H. Throop, Jr., was engaged as assistant for the special purpose of organizing a parish in that neighborhood, and, at the Rector's request, a number of members of the congregation joined themselves with him as workers in what was at first called St. Michael's Annex. Out of this work grew, by 1889, the Church of the Archangel, a brief sketch of the history of which is given elsewhere in this volume.

But in spite of this continued hiving St. Michael's had long ere this become inadequate for the accommodation of its increasing constituency. New houses and apartments were going up everywhere; services were multiplied but still there was no room in the church for those who desired to attend. Other churches of other denominations were springing up all around, and it was felt that St. Michael's must do its part toward meeting the new conditions of its own immediate neighborhood. First of all, in 1886, it was proposed to enlarge the church, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. It was soon realized, however, that this would be useless, and that a new and vastly larger church must be built. On October 10, 1887, the Vestry decided to make application to the courts for leave to sell the land between 102d and 105th streets, in the old school-house lot, and apply the proceeds to the payment of debt, the improvement of the cemetery, and the building of a new church. At first it was proposed to build the new church on part of the old school land, but careful consideration resulted in the determination to retain the present site, and on November 12, 1889, the committee on site was discharged. The sale of the school land to procure funds for the new church began in that year, and in his annual sermon Dr. Peters set before his congregation the changed conditions of the parish and the necessity of a new church building:

St. Michael's as a rural parish, no longer exists. The beautiful suburb of Bloomingdale, with its villas lining the river and the winding shady road which gave access to them, remain only in the memory of those who once made part of that obliterated life. With here and there an exception the old-fashioned mansions are destroyed and their former

residents sleep with their fathers in the tomb. Pastor and people lie in their long rest at our very door.

The expanding city has invaded our quiet precincts, and an ever growing population fills the buildings which have crowded into the old gardens and devastated the sylvan shades.

A reference to the parish register, dating from early in this century, sets before the eye the names of families of whom not a single member remains now connected with the parish. The inscriptions upon the tombstones in our churchyard recall familiar faces to very few of those who fill this house to-day. Two generations have passed away, leaving less than half a score to represent them in our worship and councils.

The full attendance of early years was succeeded by the smaller congregation which remained to us when rural Bloomingdale began to decay. A steady growth for twenty years from that lowest ebb, and a rapid one for the decade last past have filled these seats once more, but not with the descendants of those who laid the first foundations. The worshippers, like the neighborhood, are new.

The first meeting-house-like place of worship disappeared thirty-five years ago in a sudden destruction, and this more churchly structure, with double the seating capacity, was built with reference more to coming than to immediate wants of the Parish. It was constructed of perishable material, because it was even then evident that when a generation should have passed a larger building would be demanded by the inevitable growth of the city.

Another change worthy of remark is in the manner of conducting the worship here and the greater frequency of services. One service on Sunday sufficed at the first. The church is opened for five separate congregations now. Her bell, which in early times rang out its summons on an occasional Holy Day or other week day has, for these past twenty-four years, called to daily prayer.

The plain and simple service prevailing three-quarters



BUILDING OF THIRD CHURCH
Lyceum Hall to Left, Second Church Behind

of a century ago would be bald and unsatisfactory were we now to return to it. The chants were all read responsively and the singing of one psalm in metre and one from a collection of about fifty hymns, was the only customary music.

These former things are passed away. The more complex and ornate life of the household has naturally brought improved taste into the house of God, and a higher culture has not been content unless its worship was in harmony with its home life.

We may claim for our parish a good record in keeping well forward in the ranks of reverent progress in its appointments and worship.

St. Michael's was, I believe, the very first church in the city to add a proper chancel¹ with the altar at its end preaching of the great sacrifice, and to banish the lumbering pulpit and reading desk which a century ago were deemed indispensable even in the smallest church. This was also one of the earliest congregations to introduce a boy choir, now so generally employed.

At the same time the spirit which seeks sensation in bringing in always some new thing has been checked (if indeed it ever existed) by a proper conservatism.

Whatever has been added, has been done with that reverence and devotion which bear in mind that the desire for God's honor and glory, not man's gratification should influence us in all that pertains to public worship. There is nothing here for which we cannot give the reason, and the object of every advance has been either to proclaim more distinctly the great truths of Christianity, or to bow down the pride of the human heart before the Lord and Author of life.

Individually I am not fond of change for the mere sake of variety, and yet am ready to welcome a new which is

¹ The recess chancel seems to have been added to the first church in 1822, and presumably the other changes here referred to were made at the same time.

better than the old, and may make our earthly service approach more nearly to the sublime worship of heaven, as described in the Revelation of St. John.

While thus, in many respects, the former things have passed away, we say thankfully that there is much which remains still as it ever has been.

St. Michael's, from its earliest day, has sought to give widely to others the blessings enjoyed at this centre and has become, in pursuance of this course, the mother of many children. . . .

This past also will, perhaps, never return. The out-reaching of St. Michael's, apart from charities and missions, must henceforth take the shape of home expansion. With the new chapel of Trinity Church at Ninety-second Street on the south, and the Cathedral at 110th Street on the northern portion of our district, the necessity of another church for our own people will hardly again arise within the curtailed bounds remaining to us.

There confronts us now another task, which can perhaps be more fully impressed upon the members of the Parish after laying before you, according to a long prevailing custom, the statistics of a twelvemonth.

The number of families now on our Parochial list is 509 and the number of persons connected with the parish 1989.

During the year 133 have been baptized, 60 confirmed, 33 couples joined in matrimony and the funeral service has been said 107 times.

We number now 560 communicants connected with the church, not including 22 in the House of Rest.

In the course of the year 536 children have attended the Sunday School, not reckoning the children of the four Institutions connected with the parish. . . .

We come now to our delayed subject, the new task which confronts us. We cannot longer postpone the building of the larger church, which was two years ago proposed as a pressing need. The house in which we now worship cannot so much as seat at one time all whose names are on the roll

of communicants. We have sought by the five Sunday services to give opportunity to all to find room at some time of the Lord's day in the Lord's house. Not a little complaint has been made of want of accommodation at the chief service, which the larger number find it convenient to attend.

A few strangers, owing to the uncertainty of securing a seat, have sought room elsewhere instead of casting in their lot with us. This difficulty will continue to increase, as houses with many apartments are rapidly added to those already existing.

This fair fabric must also pass away that on its site a spacious and sufficient edifice may be built.

We desire to erect here a church which shall be our proper offering to God, and which shall freely dispense the glad gospel with its sacraments to as many as can be brought within reach of the human voice. It should be a large building to answer its full purpose. It must be no mean structure, but rather the very best offering which grateful children can give their Heavenly Father, and ransomed subjects present to the King of kings and Lord of lords.

Upon this work it is proposed soon to enter. It will try our faith and tax our liberality to build, and pay as we build it, such a church as all desire to see here. We must add also a proper and spacious Parish House to receive our large and ever-growing Sunday School and provide rooms for all parochial work. Let us lay the foundation broad. We shall not all live to see the purpose carried into full effect and the new church completed and furnished and adorned as becomes the place of worship of this old and ever-active parish. Let us enter on this task, nevertheless, with a will and a heart which shall so stimulate our efforts, that our commendation may be like that spoken by our Blessed Lord to the Mary who anointed His feet at Bethany, "She hath done what she could."

The old must pass away; let us mightily strive to make the new better.

From the report of the Committee on site, it appeared that the title to a half of the old Bloomingdale Road, closed in 1868, belonged to the church only in front of the original property deeded for the purposes of a church by Oliver H. Hicks and his wife in 1807. For the remainder of the property, which had been secured at a later date, the church had a clear title only to the western edge of the old Bloomingdale Road. It may be added that, owing to the contradictory, and, with all due respect to the constituted authorities, let us add the preposterous decisions of the New York courts with regard to this and other similar property, it was many years before a clear title was secured by any one for the property included in old Bloomingdale Road, and that property lay dead and unused, a slanting line of desolation through block after block, for many years, some of it almost up to the present time. However, there was enough property to permit the erection of the church on the old site, if the churchyard with its graves and vaults were included in the church. This it was decided to do and a building committee was forthwith appointed, consisting of the Rector, Wardens Chamberlain and Peters and vestrymen Tiemann and Tripler, and steps taken to procure plans for a church and to proceed to the erection of the same. Mr. Frederick Draper was appointed consulting architect, and a scheme of competition for the plans of the church drawn up. On March 4th, the Vestry accepted the plans presented by Mr. R. W. Gibson and ordered that estimates be at once obtained on those plans.

As is often the case the contractor's estimates on the new church far exceeded those of the architect. The latter had estimated that it would cost \$120,000, the lowest bids footed up to \$150,000. The amount of

money on hand for the erection of the church was only \$116,235.94, but the Building Committee felt confident that the remainder could be raised, and asked and received from the Vestry on July 17th authority to go ahead and build the church. The corner-stone of the new building was laid on St. Michael's Day, September 29, 1890. Subscriptions to the amount of \$80,000 were asked for and subscription books issued. On November 18th it is reported that \$15,150 has been paid in and \$10,000 promised in advance.

The new church was to seat four times as many people as its predecessor, 1600 instead of 400. It covered the site of the old church and churchyard, and the western apse projected on to the part of old Bloomingdale Road abutting on the original property. The Chapel of the Angels and the vestry room also encroached on the old road. The architecture was in general that combination of Romanesque and Byzantine which one meets in Italy. There was a grand campanile at the southeastern or street corner and the chancel was a Byzantine half dome, its walls pierced with a magnificent series of great windows. It was built of Indiana limestone, but for economy's sake the wall of the western apse, which it was supposed would be hidden within the block, was finished in brick. Within, the walls were left in plain plaster, with the idea, that "in course of time they should be decorated, and probably paneled up to a considerable height above the floor," and similarly the windows were filled with plain Cathedral glass. There had been in the committee considerable discussion as to the advisability of seating by pews or by chairs, the rector being desirous that if possible chairs should be used, to do away as far as possible with the whole pew-holding idea, but the final de-

cision had been in favor of pews, largely on the ground of expense. It had been planned to consecrate the church on St. Michael's Day, 1891; but it was not ready. Another date was set, with the same result. Finally it was declared to be complete, and on the 15th of December, 1891, it was consecrated by the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York, the late Bishop Seymour of Springfield, for many years the friend and at one time a co-worker of the rector, preaching the sermon. The final report of the Building Committee, October 18, 1892, shows that the total cost of the church and appurtenances was \$183,032.23, of which \$44,548.80 was derived from donations from members of the congregation and outside friends, whose names are recorded in a Book of Remembrance, preserved in the archives of the church. The daughters of a former Vestryman, Misses Sophia and Clementina Furniss and Mrs. Zimmerman, had presented the organ, which cost \$12,000, and some of the guilds of the church, the Rector and members of his family had provided a chime of bells.

Early in the following year, 1892, the old church, which had been moved back and which continued to be used for services during the construction of the new building was finally torn down. A beautiful little church it had been, contributing during the latter years a little touch of country quiet and homeliness amid the turmoil of the great city. Those who had worshipped there parted with it with deep regret. Dr. Peters expressed their sentiments in the last annual sermon which he preached in the old building, October 11, 1891:

For one, I leave it with regret. At every service, however seemingly solitary, a crowd of witnesses is around me and when most alone I am in the fullest company of those



RT. REV. H. C. POTTER, D.D., D.C.L.
Consecrator of Third Church, Dec. 15, 1891

who once were here in body and now sing the eternal praise in the mansions of the departed. They never knew the house we are now preparing, and cannot be summoned thither. I speak to them a reluctant farewell upon the abandonment of this church, in which, for thirty-seven years of my ministry, I and they have worshipped.

Abundant memories will, in due time, cluster around that larger and more enduring building into which we are soon to enter. You who may go there young will come back to it when you are old, and that in which you at first delight, because it is so new and fresh and beautiful in its wood and stone, will be dearer to you for its cherished human ties severed and yet immortal.

It is some consolation to the older worshippers here to consider that we shall not, in hastening to enter the new church, altogether throw away the past. Buried generations will sleep beneath our feet. Some memorials in the former house will serve a good and double purpose in the latter, useful still, and yet connecting us with souls gone before. Storied windows will bring back the dead among the living. Tablet and inscription and consecrated gifts will be tokens that we have come not to a birth but to a resurrection. That which was will be and that which is was.

Although three score years and ten when the new church was consecrated, Dr. Peters took up the work of organizing the parish to meet its new conditions almost with the zest and vigor of youth. In the year the church was consecrated he was elected to the Standing Committee of the Diocese and the following year he was chosen Archdeacon of New York. These new burdens also he took up with the cheerfulness and hopefulness of perpetual youth. In the year of the consecration of the church, his son, Rev. John P. Peters, had been called to be his assistant with right of succession, and to him and the Rev. George S. Pratt, who

had become assistant in 1889, were assigned a considerable portion of the preaching and parochial visitation, Dr. Peters reserving, however, enough of that work to occupy the time and strength of one ordinary man, besides his missionary and benevolent enterprises.

With the construction of the new church, the parish entered in more ways than one upon a new phase of its existence. The Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum and the Shepherd's and Children's Fold, the children from which had so long attended St. Michael's, were now removed to a distance from the city. The church had ceased to be an institutional home. As the city built up more and more about it, it was to be its obligation to make itself the church home of the new neighborhood and to minister to the needs of a new population. To enable it to do so the Vestry had leased from Dr. Peters the two wooden buildings, Lyceum Hall, which faced on 99th Street, and the old tavern behind it, the present rectory, to serve for a temporary parish house. In October 1892, in an article contributed to the *Mission News* of the Archdeaconry, Dr. Peters thus describes the organization of the parish at that time:

The young boys are in a *Guild*, with two divisions, each meeting one week-day afternoon. The older boys are *St. Andrew's Cadets*, and have a room of their own. The young men form a chapter of *St. Andrew's Brotherhood*, with two rooms which they have furnished and also fitted up with a library. The young men of St. Andrew's are ushers in the church and also take up the night services as especially their own, besides distributing cards of invitation throughout the whole neighborhood. The little girls are in *St. Faith's Guild*, meeting of a week-day afternoon during the autumn, winter and spring. A *Sewing School* for girls is held weekly on Saturday morning from November to

Easter. Forty-five young girls compose *St. Agnes's Guild*, have a room of their own, and assist on the Altar Committee and in the afternoon Sunday-school.

The next in order is the *Girls' Friendly Society*, having a room of its own, and meeting in sections for work, exercise, or recreation every week-day evening. *The Parish Aid Society*, composed of young ladies of the congregation, collects for the furnishing of the church and fosters friendly relations among the young connected with the parish. Another association of ladies is formed to visit from house to house, attending to the spiritual welfare of those whom they thus reach. An *Industrial Society* meets one afternoon of each week from November to Easter, making garments for the poor and for public institutions, and during Lent, in connection with the Woman's Missionary Society, filling a box for the family of some clergyman with insufficient salary. The *Altar Guild* is composed of ladies who take charge of the altars, with their decorations, and everything connected with the chancel of both the church and the Chapel of the Angels. *St. Cecilia's Guild*, composed of 42 members, replaces the regular choir at the fifth service on Sunday evening. It is composed of men and women, is vested, and aims successfully to sing *with*, and not *for* the congregation. *St. Michael's Branch* of the *Church Periodical Club*, with 11 members and 26 contributors, distributed last year about 2000 periodicals and papers. *The Woman's Missionary Society*, of general membership, holds regular meetings in one of the parish houses and collects for mission work under the General Missionary Society.

There is besides in the parish buildings *St. Michael's Station* of the *Penny Provident Fund*, counting in the year closing August 31st, 200 depositors.

A clinic, for free consultation by the poor, is held in a room provided for the purpose by the vestry, and is attended in the afternoon of each week day by physicians of the West Side, who freely give their time and attention to these charitable labors.

Dr. Peters had not expected, when he entered the new building, that it would be given him to work there many years. He had often said to his son that it would fall on him to beautify the church, to build the parish house for which he had planned, and to develop the parish along the new lines which the new conditions required.

It was vouchsafed to him to celebrate one interesting festival in the new church, the Jubilee of the commencement of his official relation to St. Michael's Church. While he had really commenced his work, at St. Mary's, in 1841 it was not until 1842 that he was officially appointed a lay reader. To commemorate this event the congregation placed in the church in December of 1892 a marble font the inscription on which records its occasion. In the same year one of the vestrymen on whom Dr. Peters had depended in the years of transition and who, with his family, had rendered valuable assistance in the parochial and missionary work of the church, Charles H. Kitchnel, passed away.

Dr. Peters started out on a Saturday in August, 1893, in a characteristic manner; going first to visit the institutions at Elmsford, and proceeding thence to the house of a friend in Peekskill, to hold services on the following day at a little country mission, in which the latter was interested and which Dr. Peters was in the habit of visiting each year. The next morning, August 13th, a few minutes before eleven, as the congregation of St. Michael's was assembling for service, came the message that Dr. Peters had passed away during the night.

They laid his body in St. Michael's Cemetery, which he had created, and on his tombstone were inscribed these words:

Friend of the friendless, his life was devoted to the care of the needy. He founded many churches and benevolent institutions, also this cemetery.

Come ye Blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you. I was hungry and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was in prison and ye came unto me.

The following minute was spread on the records of the Vestry of St. Michael's Church:

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God in His wise providence to take out of this world the soul of His Faithful servant, the Reverend Thomas McClure Peters, Doctor of Sacred Theology, Archdeacon of New York: for thirty-five years Rector of St. Michael's Church and ministering therein for more than fifty years, the Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Michael's Church desire to place upon the records of the Vestry this minute to his memory.

Dr. Peters in the several capacities of Lay Reader, Assistant Minister and Rector, served St. Michael's Church for more than half a century; and the history of the growth and progress of the parish for more than half of its existence is the record of his life and labors.

He came to it when St. Michael's was a little country church—the outpost of the Church in this city and deriving its chief prominence from that fact.

It was his good fortune to begin his ministerial career under the guidance of one largely endowed with the true missionary spirit and under whom the spiritual foundations of the parish were laid broad and deep—the Rev. William Richmond, then the Rector, and when Mr. Richmond was called to his reward, St. Michael's found in Dr. Peters a worthy successor.

He brought to his work a vigor and enthusiasm which knew no exhaustion or abatement to the end. Under Dr.

Peters' wise and tireless care, every line of parochial and missionary work which his pious predecessor had planned was developed and steadily and successfully carried on, and as occasion offered, new work was planned and undertaken, until St. Michael's has become the representative free church of the diocese, if not of the American Church—and is recognized to-day as one of the leading churches of the metropolis—the mother Church of the upper part of the city.

The Reverend Dr. Peters was the acknowledged leader in the missionary and charitable work of the Church in the Diocese of New York and his pre-eminence as a philanthropist was recognized without the Church as well as within her borders.

He had the confidence of the whole community without regard to creed or condition, and it was long since a well-understood thing that no work for the succoring of the souls or bodies of men to which he gave the sanction of his name would fail for lack of sufficient pecuniary support.

Dr. Peters was gifted with a mind of singular clearness and practical ability and penetrated with so deep a sense of personal responsibility that no duty undertaken by him was ever performed perfunctorily or by proxy.

The Sheltering Arms, the Children's Fold, the City Mission Society, the House of Rest for Consumptives, and other kindred institutions owe their existence and present prosperous condition under God, mainly to his fostering care and devoted labors, and are in themselves monuments to his memory. While it is by works such as those just enumerated that Dr. Peters is probably most widely known, they by no means represent the sum of his activities in the service of the Church and for the good of men: he was a trustee of the estates and property of the Church in the Diocese of New York, a manager of the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning, of the New York

Hospital Association and of many other societies and boards having in charge the missions and charities of the Church, and in not one of them was he ever a mere place-holder.

He was also at the time of his death a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese and Archdeacon of New York.

He was one of the first to perceive the advantages, if not the necessity, of dividing the great Diocese of New York, adhering to the project in the face of strong opposition, with the tenacity which characterized him in every movement of the wisdom of which he was convinced. He was one of those to whom the Church is most largely indebted for the erection of the large and prosperous Dioceses of Albany and Long Island.

Few men in any calling have filled so many and important offices of trust and it will be difficult to name one who has filled them with such faithfulness, ability and success.

We have enumerated several of the offices filled by our departed Rector for the reason that no minute of him would be at all accurate which omitted to take note of them, and that through his holding them, St. Michael's Church has been honored—but it is as Rector of the church and Pastor of his people that we desire and love especially to remember Dr. Peters.

In all his varied activities to the very close of his mortal life among us, no one duty to his church or parishioners was neglected. He was the faithful parish priest, jealous of his Master's service and honor, delighting in the daily round of prayer and praise; reverent in all the functions of his office and especially in the celebration of the Holy Communion. Singularly modest and simple in his manner and bearing, he was to all his people the true friend and wise counsellor, ever ready to give his best aid in all trials, spiritual or temporal.

He has left a fragrant memory and a record which will endure as one of the chiefest treasures of St. Michael's Church, an incentive and example for all who in the times to come shall minister in this church.

Grant to him, Lord, eternal rest, and let light perpetual shine upon him.



THE THIRD CHURCH
Consecrated. Dec. 15, 1891

CHAPTER VII

The Third Church; Telling the Story of the Present Rectorate, with Some Account of the Decoration of the Church, the Building of the Parish House, and the Development of Sociological and Neighborhood Activities in the Parish; and including the Famous Amsterdam Avenue Fight.

AT a Vestry meeting held August 14, 1893, the Rev. John P. Peters was elected Rector of St. Michael's Church to succeed his father, and on St. Luke's Day, October 18th, of the same year, he was instituted by the Bishop of the Diocese. Born and brought up in the parish, in which he had been already an assistant for ten years, his rectorship in its general policy, as well as in the details of the conduct of services and the like, has naturally been a continuance of the preceding. By the time of his accession to the cure, St. Michael's had become a city church and the neighborhood, while not yet fully built up, was a portion of the great city. Even the name of Bloomingdale had passed away, and to the annoyance and disgust of those who, trained in the old ways, had been wont to look down upon the lower level of Harlem, people had begun to designate this region also by that name. Bloomingdale Road and the old winding lanes had been obliterated and were forgotten, except by title-searchers; and even the streets and avenues which followed them had changed their names. The Boule-

vard was now Broadway; Tenth Avenue, Amsterdam; Eleventh, West End, etc.

Nor was St. Michael's any longer the only church or one of the very few which ministered to the population of this district. It stood now on the same level with a multitude of other churches already built or preparing to build on every side. The little Presbyterian church in the wood at 84th Street had become a large new structure of stone on 86th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. Another Presbyterian church had been organized at 105th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, where it was already erecting a building, to be enlarged shortly afterwards, and two more Presbyterian churches were about to move up from downtown into the immediate neighborhood. The Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Name had abandoned the old frame building erected in 1867, and commenced the construction of a great stone church on 96th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, and at intervals of half a mile or more up and down the west side the Roman Catholics were organizing new parishes to care for the large inflowing population. The Methodists still worshipped in a wooden structure built a dozen or fifteen years before on 104th Street, but were moving toward the construction of the large new Grace Church, now one of the leading Methodist churches in the city, the construction of that building to be followed by the removal to this region of another large church to accommodate the growing membership. The Baptists were building or about to build at 104th Street to the north and 92nd Street to the south. A German church had been built on 100th Street, almost under the eaves of St. Michael's, to care for the German Lutherans, who in the lack of other church accommodations had for so many years found a home in this old parish.

Our own Church was likewise moving to provide new buildings and new parishes for the west side. In 1892 the old building of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum was opened as a pro-cathedral, for regular services, which were later transferred to the Crypt. While the Cathedral has refused to accept any parochial responsibilities, for all practical purposes, including attendance at the parish church and contributions toward the support of the same, the result of the work there has been to cut off the northern section of St. Michael's parish, making its present practical limits 109th Street, although theoretically the boundary is 116th Street. The construction of the beautiful chapel of St. Elizabeth at the Memorial Hospital, and the opening of the chapel of St. Luke's Hospital, also developed small separate centres of religious life within the parish. Other institutions which have moved up into the neighborhood, like the Home for Respectable Aged and Indigent Females, the Blind Home, St. Luke's Home for Old Men and Aged Couples, and St. Luke's Home for Old Ladies, have also chapels of their own in which services are held for the inmates. Before St. Michael's was completed the new All Angels' Church had been built on 81st Street and West End Avenue and Trinity had commenced to build its new chapel of St. Agnes, with its large parish house, and Trinity School adjoining, on 92nd Street, between Amsterdam and Columbus avenues, thus pushing up the boundaries of St. Michael's parish on the south to 96th Street. While there was abundant room and much need for services on the west side for both of these churches, and for others which were to follow, their particular character did not tend to make the work of St. Michael's any easier but rather harder. While technically a

free church, by a device of evasion, the assignment of seats according to the amount of the subscription, All Angels' became in fact a class church, intended for the well-to-do. St. Agnes, also, on which, as in the case of Trinity Chapel almost half a century before, Trinity had spent more than twice the sum which it spends on churches in poor localities, unable to provide for themselves, was a pewed church. This was not for the reason generally assigned for renting or selling pews, the need of revenue, but apparently because Trinity Corporation believes in class churches; one sort for the wealthy and another for the poor. Here were realized precisely those conditions which Dr. T. M. Peters had described in a sermon preached before the Free Church Guild, in St. Ann's Church, December 4, 1873:

You have given us here a terrible burden to bear. We must make bricks and you monopolize the straw. If we go outside of New York, or perhaps we may say of our large cities, you will find the system of free-will offerings so far successful, that nearly one-half the churches of our Communion in the United States are now entirely free; and there are dioceses in which, with one or two exceptions, every church is free. This spread of the practice indicates of itself the general success. In this city the very name of free church for long years had its synonym in "poor people's church." The multiplication by rich pewed churches of free churches intended for the poor, has cast a sympathizing shadow over all free churches. Even to this day to say, one goes to a free church, is at least a confession that one does not go where fashionable people gather; that most of their fellow worshippers are plain, many poor. The pewed churches, not the free, are however responsible for this condition of things. Their first aim is to offer advantages which will gain them a revenue; ours to get a

congregation. They induce the rich to attend. We succeed in persuading the poor to enter. All have equally souls to be saved, but it is much easier to carry on arrangements for the saving of souls that can pay, than of those which cannot. If we have the latter, it is because they have the former. Remove all the social distinctions out of Christ's kingdom, so that as we stand in God's sight, thus we assemble also in church, high and low, rich and poor, one with another, all perfectly equal in our spiritual relations, and it will no longer be objected that financially the free church is a failure.

And elsewhere in the same sermon he says:

A survey of the Church which proclaimed at first the destruction of privilege and equality of membership, and practised the community of wealth, reveals now the wonderful and sad conformity of the Church to the world. The social ranks; the exclusiveness of wealth; its comfortable enjoyments; its gratified tastes; the worship of money in elevating into false position him who seems to possess it; the lifting up those who stand high; the crowding down those who are already low; the thousand points which mark the increasing inequality of the world: behold them all reproduced and triumphant here in the Church. So far as, and whereinsoever this is so, the progress of Christianity, bound up in the existence of the Church, will be impeded and checked. No attempts at compensation can balance or neutralize an evil whose foundation is inequality, in those respects in which Christians were once made equal before God.

One of the evils and abuses of the Church of this day is the assigning for money in ownership or exclusive possession pews or seats in the house of God. That which was introduced for one purpose, has been pressed into quite an antagonistic service. That which was once designed to bring people into church, now operates to keep them out of it.

The natural result of these conditions is that many persons of means, living territorially in St. Michael's parish, who would, conditions being equal, attend and support that church, desirous to advance or maintain their social position by means of their church relations, and being led to regard St. Michael's as a church for the poor or those inferior socially, have connected themselves with these more well-to-do parishes, thus depriving St. Michael's of that amount of financial support and laying a greater burden upon the poor with whom they should have united in the work and worship of their own parish and neighborhood. It should be added, also, that in the upbuilding of this region the immediate neighborhood of St. Michael's Church toward the River, where the richer people have their houses, has been singularly slow in development, while the region toward Columbus Avenue has built up with the poorest class of tenements on the upper west side. St. Michael's is therefore admirably situated for preaching the Gospel, with a large poor population at its very doors; but not so favorably located from the purse or pocket point of view.

When the congregation moved into the new church it was almost entirely unadorned. Mr. R. L. Lamb, whose family had been worshippers in the old church, had erected two windows on the west aisle in memory of his wife and mother, the Guest window from the old church had been set up in the west gallery, and a couple of small windows from the old church on the stairway to that gallery; outside of this the great windows of the new church were all of plain, unadorned cathedral glass. The little wooden altar from the old church had been placed in the great chancel, a plain deal table serving as altar in the Chapel of the Angels. The



INTERIOR OF THIRD CHURCH
Looking toward Chancel

pulpit was a plain wooden platform; the lectern, the wooden eagle lectern from the old church, a book-rest from the Sunday School room serving as lectern for the chapel. The only new article of furniture, outside of the simple pews and stalls, was the rector's handsome chair, given as a gift of love to Dr. T. M. Peters by the children of the institutions. At the time of his jubilee, in 1892, a new font had also been given to the church by various members of the congregation.

Dr. Peters had never expected to decorate the church, but left that as an obligation to his successor. The work began, as such things will, almost accidentally. People complained of the lack of a communion rail. They could not kneel without some support in front of them, and at a vestry meeting held October 10, 1893, a committee was appointed with power to contract for an altar rail. The committee at once found that it could not contract for an altar rail without considering the relation of that altar rail to the entire furnishing and decoration of the chancel, and so it began to make inquiries with a view to laying before the Vestry a plan for that which it supposed would actually be undertaken at some future time. Artists and church decoration firms, seeing the great possibilities of the noble chancel of St. Michael's, made advances and propositions as to the method of handling the same. It was a period of business depression, when there was little demand for work of this kind and prices were correspondingly low and terms favorable. Accordingly, after careful consideration, it seemed to the Vestry desirable to take in hand at that time the furnishing and decoration of the chancel. The Peters family offered to erect an altar in memory of the late Thomas McClure Peters, and on May 14, 1894, that offer was

accepted. The Vestry decided to put in chancel windows at the same time, using for that purpose two legacies from members of old St. Michael's Church, \$4000 from Charles S. Weyman and \$2500 from Miss Elizabeth Low, to which was added a little later a gift of \$1000 from a former vestryman, H. C. von Post. Out of a number of competitive designs, the Vestry selected that of Mr. Louis Tiffany. The original agreement provided only for the five chancel windows. To these the Vestry added later the two mosaic niches on either side of the five windows and the decoration of the chancel to the spring of the dome. The children of a former rector, Rev. James Cook Richmond, also gave a credence in memory of their father, and an altar cross, vases, and candlesticks were presented in remembrance of one who had done faithful service as choir-mother and member of the Altar Guild, Mary Louise Lawrance, wife of Harry B. Livingston. The altar and credence were completed (the altar of the old church was removed to the Chapel of the Angels, to be joined there shortly by the eagle lectern, where both have remained in use in loving memory of the second church) and dedicated on Easter, 1895, the windows and the mosaic niches on Christmas of the same year.

Since that date, two memorial windows have been placed in the Chapel of the Angels, one in memory of Constance Caroline Roome and the other, given by the ladies of the church and friends, in memory of Alice Clarissa Richmond Peters, and two in the eastern transept, one a gift from St. Agnes Guild and one a memorial, given by his daughter, of Dr. A. V. Williams, "for thirty years vestryman and warden of St. Michael's Church, a physician filled with the



INTERIOR OF THIRD CHURCH

1. Chapel of the Angels
2. View of Nave from Chancel

spirit of the Lord and love for his fellow-men." A lectern was also given by Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Luckings in memory of a former worshipper and devoted worker, Alvira Chitry.

In this present centenary year the decoration of the chancel has been completed; a pulpit erected, as a gift from those who heard the Gospel preached in the first century of the church's history, that the same good tidings of great love may be preached through the century that is to come; and a baptismal window, placed in the south wall, adjoining the chancel, by the children baptized in the first century of the church's history; pulpit and window together symbolizing Christ's final command to His apostles to "go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Dr. Peters also bequeathed to his successor the task of building the Parish House. The first step towards the fulfilment of that bequest was the acquisition, in 1893, of a lot on Amsterdam Avenue immediately to the north of the church, it having been Dr. Peters's plan that the Parish House should occupy the space intervening between the northern end of the church and 100th Street on that avenue. On November 14, 1893, the Vestry took formal action looking to the erection of a parish house by appointing a Committee on Ways and Means. On December 23rd, that Committee presented to the Vestry a rough estimate of \$60,000 as the cost of the sort of building needed, exclusive of land. In the meantime, negotiations had been conducted for the purchase of the corner lot on Amsterdam Avenue and 100th Street, but the owner, supposing it to be necessary to the church, held it at a price which the Vestry felt to be excessive.

When the late Dr. Peters bought the land opposite St. Michael's Church on Bloomingdale Road, he did so for the purpose of protecting the church, making at the time a proposition to exchange that land for some of the church land on Clendining Lane, which proposition was refused, the two parties not being able to agree as to the relative values of those properties. On the land thus acquired by him Dr. Peters had accumulated some three wooden buildings, which were finally rented to the church in whole or in part for temporary parish houses. It had been his intention, so soon as the time was ripe, to make a contribution towards the erection of a parish house, and his family now offered this land to the church for parish house purposes at a price which would include, at least in part, the gift he had proposed to make. The offer was accepted and the land purchased, but it was almost two years before steps were actually taken to raise funds to erect the much needed building. The completion of the decoration of the chancel, the building of a crypt beneath the Chapel of the Angels, the completion of various outside work about the church, including an iron fence, had all cost money, which had to be drawn from the church funds. The hard times had made themselves felt in the contributions of the congregation. On April 8, 1895, the Vestry considers the necessity of increasing the collections, and orders that a circular letter be prepared and distributed to the members of the congregation calling attention to the small amount contributed by them for current expenses, and the need of a larger revenue for the maintenance of the services and work of the church; and on May 13th the Finance Committee presents a report calling for immediate and large retrenchment in the budget.

But the need of a parish house for the rapidly developing parish work was pressing. Already in the year book of 1894 mention is made of the efforts which members of the congregation are making to raise funds for such a building and of a committee organized for that purpose. Finally, on June 10, 1895, in spite of the unfavorable condition of the treasury, the Vestry appointed a special Finance Committee to raise funds for a parish house and a Building Committee to procure plans. Out of several plans presented, the Vestry selected, October 14, 1895, the plans of Mr. Charles T. Merry for a building estimated to cost \$70,000. Towards this building \$25,000 were realized by the sale of the remainder of the church land on Clendining Lane, and in 1896 the Vestry ordered the erection of half of the parish house, containing Sunday School rooms, gymnasium, church offices, guild rooms, and parlor, the most immediately necessary portions of the proposed building. The work began in July, 1896, and the building was occupied in June, 1897, the cost being \$41,509.94, of which \$25,000 was paid for by the sale of land, the remainder being derived from the contributions of the parish then and later. Lyceum Hall was removed, and the one-time tavern and general store, later added to by Dr. Peters and developed first into a house for the children of his institutions and then into a temporary parish house, which stood behind it facing old Bloomingdale Road, was turned about, moved down to 99th Street, and re-formed into a temporary rectory.

And here for some time the work of material betterment halted. For seven years there had been a continual demand for money for purposes of construction, and over \$70,000 had been contributed by members

of the parish and outside friends, a very large amount for a congregation as poor as that of St. Michael's. The section of the Parish House built in 1897 soon proved inadequate for the growing work of the parish, but it seemed impossible to secure funds for its completion. The givers were exhausted or felt that they had given all they should be asked to give; and so for four years the Parish House remained incomplete, only half of it constructed. Then, on October 14, 1901, the senior warden, William R. Peters, offered to complete the building, which, according to the original proposition contained in the appeal for money to construct the house, was to be a memorial to his father. His offer was accepted November 3, 1901, and the Parish House was dedicated to the service of God in memory of Thomas McClure Peters on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1902; and so the second work which he had bequeathed to his successor was accomplished.¹

To show the general development and growth of the church work in the years covered by this chapter, I shall excerpt from the Vestry records, year books, and *Messenger* various miscellaneous items. Owing to the rapid growth of the neighborhood and the inefficiency and lack of foresight of the city government, it came to pass by 1896 that the schools of this neighborhood were totally inadequate to provide for the number of children of school age. Classes were enlarged beyond the limits of efficiency and still hundreds of children were left unprovided for, many of them

¹ Mr. Charles T. Merry having died in the meantime, Mr. R. W. Gibson, the architect of the church, became the architect of the completed Parish House. The original plan was also somewhat reduced in size, the erection of a separate library building for the Bloomingdale Library rendering the library contained in the original plans of the Parish House superfluous.



THE MEMORIAL PARISH HOUSE
Consecrated All Saints Day, 1902

members of our own parish. In this emergency, October 12, 1896, the Vestry offered to the Board of Education, free of charge, the use during week-days of the larger portion of the buildings then used by it for temporary parish houses. The offer was unwillingly declined, because the buildings did not and could not be made to comply with the legal requirements for school buildings; but in the following year, when the first half of the Parish House was completed, the school board offered to lease and did lease the larger part of that building during week-days, and for two years it served as an annex public school. Not only, however, was there a lack of public schools in this neighborhood at that time, there were also no night schools whatever. To demonstrate the demand for such schools in this neighborhood, which we believed to be a necessity, Mr. Robert B. Keyser offered his services to conduct a night school in the temporary parish house of St. Michael's Church, and on February 8, 1897, rooms in that building were granted him for the purpose. The result of this experiment, and of active agitation by St. Michael's branch of C A I L, was that in the following year the Board of Education opened a night school in the nearest public school building in the neighborhood.

In 1897 the church came under the religious corporation act of 1895, according to which one warden and three vestrymen only are elected each year, the object being to secure greater permanence and continuity in the Vestry, and thereby also better protection of property interests.

In 1900 the Vestry adopted the plan of assigning seats in the church. Many complained that it was not easy for families to sit together, and that, being

seated one Sunday in one place and one in another, they did not acquire the home sense in connection with the church. It was the opinion also of the clergy that assignment of seats would prove an assistance in parochial administration, furnishing a sort of nucleus of persons anchored to the church by their sittings, and enabling the clergy and others to determine more readily the presence or absence of regular attendants and to ascertain who were strangers and newcomers. The method of assigning seats in use in our fellow free church of Zion and St. Timothy was therefore adopted in St. Michael's on December 10th of that year. According to that method, sittings are assigned for the eleven o'clock service only, and in order of application, with no regard to the amount of the contribution of the applicant, which in fact no one but the rector knows, or whether he contributes at all. Such seats are not, however, in any sense, to be regarded as the property of those to whom they are assigned, but are available for their use only if they are present and in their seats before the clergy and choir enter the church. After that the ushers show people to all vacant seats without regard to any assignment.

In 1902, \$25,000 was offered to the Vestry on condition that it should erect a small hospital building to be used in connection with the Clinic. This offer it was obliged to decline, since such a hospital would have made a new and somewhat considerable demand upon the annual budget, already so swollen by the expenses of the Parish House that each year the church was obliged to borrow from the Cemetery income, against the protest of the Treasurer and to the regret of the rector and Vestry. In the following year, 1903, occurred the forgery and defalcation of the treasurer's

assistant, by which the church lost over \$40,000, the obligation of replacing which rendered still more difficult the financing of its large work. It was supposed before that time that the church had taken every precaution to guard against such a possibility. Every year the books had been audited by a professional auditor, but he had failed to note the fraud which was being perpetrated. Since that date still more careful methods have been adopted, including a monthly audit by the Auditing Committee of the Vestry, in addition to the annual audit conducted for the Committee by a professional auditor.

The former rector left a parish admirably organized. There were organizations to cover every phase of church work, and to furnish a means and place of activity and of recreation for church members of both sexes and all ages. These guilds and organizations were, for the most part, merely developed with the removal into the Parish House, and to this day the general scheme of organization of parish work existing in the last years of Dr. Peters's rectorship has been continued. Some new organizations have of course come into existence during these fourteen years and others passed away. One interesting and rather unusual organization, started in 1892, Searchlight, did valuable work in the parish for the first eight years of the present rectorate. This was an organization of women who visited systematically, each having an allotted district, in the tenement and apartment houses, finding out people who had no church connection, children who did not go to Sunday School, men and women who needed the ministrations of the clergy, and at the same time ascertaining the sanitary and other conditions of those houses, with a view to curing or pre-

venting moral and physical evil. Another organization of boys, which existed for a few years and did an admirable work during the period of its existence, was the Loving Service Society. The head of this organization contrived to inspire a large band of boys with an almost incredible zeal to do something for some one in the way of service. As is usually the case with organizations of this sort, both Searchlight and Loving Service depended on the personality of their originators, and when these were unable to continue to lead the organizations they had started, on account of other obligations, those organizations themselves passed out of existence.

In 1895, at the suggestion and through the efforts of the rector's wife, to which are to be attributed also the Girls' Friendly Society and the Bloomingdale Day Nursery, a clothing bureau was started, which has continued to this day a valuable adjunct of the work of the parish, furnishing occupation to a number of women in making and mending garments, and rendering it possible for others to secure new clothing and half-worn garments at a low price. Out of the Clothing Bureau grew, in 1899, the Mothers' Meetings, which in their turn have resulted in a Women's Guild. A Men's Guild was organized in 1902. New organizations of young men have come into existence as a consequence of the facilities of the Parish House, in the form of gymnasium classes and military organizations, which latter seem especially to be the present fad among boys and young men. Debating clubs, camera clubs, dramatic guilds, and social organizations of one sort and another have come and gone, attesting and developing the value of the Parish House as the workshop and the clubhouse of the parish.



PARISH HOUSE WORK

1. Girls' Friendly Society
2. Gymnasium Class

The Parish House has also been effective in the educational work of the church. And here, too, various agencies have grown up, continued, or been abandoned, as the needs of the movement and the assistance available indicated. The Sewing School, begun almost a half a century ago, was continued and largely developed in the present Parish House, serving a constituency drawn from the neighborhood at large, until about two years ago, when, in view of the introduction of industrial instruction in the public schools, and the difficulty of obtaining volunteer teachers who were willing and able to instruct the children on Saturday mornings, according to the modern scientific methods of sewing-school instruction, it seemed better to close our school. Sewing classes are maintained, however, in connection with a number of girls' guilds and organizations, together with dress-making, millinery, cooking, and other similar classes. Carpentry, and other similar industrial work, have also been introduced more and more, as opportunity permitted, in the boys' guilds and organizations. Last year a Bible Vacation School for the neighborhood was conducted in the Parish House, but as the Board of Education has located its vacation school for this district in the immediate neighborhood of the church it did not seem necessary to continue that enterprise. The rector of the church was, from its organization in 1899, for a number of years an active member of the Sunday School Commission of the Diocese, and the Sunday School has had the full advantage of the work of that commission, which it has been able to utilize effectively, thanks to the Parish House. The Sunday School rooms of the Parish House are almost ideal, and St. Michael's has one unique department in the

maps and models of the Jerusalem Chamber. We had for some years, also, the model mission room of the city. Here again we have an example of the possibilities of individuality in the work of such a parish. The person who originated and developed this department left the parish, and no one else grasped the work. Almost every year some new work originates or passes away, as workers with zeal, energy, and sympathetic originality come and go.

Outside of the parish, understood as the membership of the church, the Parish House has also been an active agency for good in the neighborhood at large, and in another chapter will be found an account of the neighborhood organizations developed from St. Michael's Parish House as headquarters. The effort has been to make the Parish House not only a parish home but also a neighborhood guild house. Here have been held all sorts of meetings and gatherings for the public good, from single mass meetings to more permanent clubs and organizations, such as the Lincoln Club of boys of the Waring League, organized this spring to keep the streets clean and decent. The Parish House was also, in the time of the existence of that association, the home of the West Side Sunday Closing Association, with delegates from various churches, and not a few other associations and organizations of a reformatory character have been allowed or encouraged to use its rooms for their meetings. Of these one of the most interesting was The Work Together, an association of builders, architects, and representatives of the building trades, with a few members who represented the general benevolent public, and the rector of St. Michael's as president. This lasted for about two years,

from 1900 to 1902, and was a power for peace in its day.

During the rectorship of the present incumbent, the population of the parish has not only very largely increased, it has also considerably changed. In the autumn of 1894, at the suggestion of the pastor of the West End Presbyterian Church, a religious census was made of the community of which this church is a part, from which it appeared that 24 per cent. of the total population hereabout claimed to be Episcopalians. The Roman Catholics outnumbered us in the lowest strata of the population and the Presbyterians almost equalled us among the richer classes (18 per cent.), but it was interesting to observe that Episcopalians, and Episcopalians only, were equally distributed through all strata of society, an evidence of the value of the work done in this city through the instrumentality of the City Mission Society.

With the organization of the Federation of Churches, St. Michael's Church took part with others in a more elaborate census of the entire 21st Assembly District in the spring of 1898, and the rector of the parish became the president of the Auxiliary of the Federation for this district. The second census showed a considerable increase in the foreign and non-Protestant population of this section of the city. Some of the facts disclosed by that census were rather startling. Out of 379 families reported in the tier of blocks between 89th and 102d streets, and Broadway and the River, the most well-to-do section of the district, 233 professed to have no church home, of whom 60 were Episcopalians, 36 Presbyterians, 28 Roman Catholics, and 21 Jews. Evidently there was developing in New York, for this section of the city

is not strange in that regard, a very large population, nominally Christian, without any real church connection. Two later censuses have been made since that time, showing an increase rather than a decrease of the same conditions, and making evident the need of combination on the part of the churches if the community is to be reached effectively. These censuses have shown a progressive increase in the Jewish population, especially of fairly well-to-do Jews; in certain sections numbers of Italians have come in; and on 99th Street a colored colony, almost 3000 strong, has located itself. There is no stratum of the population which would show to-day 24 per cent. of Episcopalians.

One result of the Federation work has been the districting of this section of the city, and the assignment, to each church of any kind willing to co-operate, of what is called a co-operative parish, a district in which it shall be the duty of that church to visit every house or apartment once in the year, reporting the results on blanks prepared for the purpose, so that all professing a preference for Presbyterianism may be followed up by the local Presbyterian Church, Methodists by the Methodist Church, and so on. Furthermore it is supposed to be the duty of each church to patrol its co-operative parish, so to speak, for the prevention or removal of evil conditions, moral or physical, all working together in the larger matters which affect the well-being, spiritual or temporal, of the district in general.

If in any direction St. Michael's Parish has struck out in new lines during the rectorship of the present incumbent, it is in relation to social and neighborhood work. In this, however, the rector has only developed

somewhat more fully the principles of the past. It was no new thing to throw St. Michael's Church open freely for meetings to advance new thoughts and ideas, or to bespeak sympathy and succor for the poor and oppressed of this or any nation. Peculiar conditions have led to a somewhat freer use of such meetings in later years. So in 1895 and 1896, at the time of the persecution of the Armenians, meetings on their behalf were held in St. Michael's Church, and their appreciation of the activities of this parish and its members in their distress is witnessed by the rug presented by the Armenian Protestant Church of this city to St. Michael's Church at its Centenary. Similar meetings were held in 1904 in behalf of the persecuted Macedonians, and in 1906 in behalf of the negroes of the Congo Free State. But perhaps the most interesting of all these meetings was one held in St. Michael's Church in 1895, on the occasion of a clothing strike on the East Side. On that occasion the Bishop presided in his robes, seated in the chancel, while Jewish workmen stood before him and told the congregation of their conditions and their needs. It was interesting to see how men of this different faith, out of courtesy to the church which had thrown open its doors that they might present their cause to the Christian community, joined lustily in the singing of the Christian hymns in the service which preceded and followed their appeal.

This meeting, and another which followed it in the interest of tenement house reform, was held at the instigation and under the auspices of C A I L, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. This association, under the leadership of Miss Harriet A. Keyser, a member of the church, was for some time a most efficient factor in developing the social work of

the parish, with its tenement-house, sweat-shop, labor, and other similar committees, and its varied activities and agitations for better conditions in bake shops, for motormen, etc. Of late years, owing to the removal and death of some of its formerly active members, and the development of the general society at the expense of St. Michael's branch, which at one time constituted almost the whole of C A I L, those particular committees have disappeared, and the social activities of the parish are manifested and expressed in different forms and by other agencies. This social work again did not originate in the present rectorate. St. Michael's branch of C A I L was organized before Dr. Peters's death, and in his last annual sermon he laid it upon the conscience of the parishioners of St. Michael's that, the work of Church extension in which the parish had been engaged for seventy years being now completed, it was its next duty to provide for the needs of its own immediate and rapidly growing neighborhood.

The theory of the Church's obligation in this regard, under which the various works above described were undertaken, was set forth by the present rector in a little pamphlet published by the Church Social Union in 1896, entitled "What One Parish is Doing for Social Reform," from which I venture to quote the closing words:

It seems to me clear that we cannot content ourselves with missionary societies, Dorcas societies, boys' clubs, Girls' Friendly societies and the like, but that the field of Church work is far broader still than this. Not that these things should be left undone, but that other things should be added to them. I am sure that the day is coming when it will be regarded as a legitimate and necessary part of the activities of a well-organized parish to have a school com-

mittee for the purpose of looking into the condition of our schools, disclosing and reforming abuses, and procuring for the parish what the parish needs in the way of public school equipment; to have a street-cleaning committee, which shall make it its duty to see that the streets of the parish are properly cleaned, for the sake particularly of the health and comfort of the poorer persons and the little children who reside in our parishes; to have a tenement-house committee; or if not precisely these committees at least guilds and societies and clubs to work for social reform, which guilds, societies and the like will take their place in our parish work side by side with missionary societies, Dorcas societies, and so forth.

There are to-day young men and young women who are willing to work, but who do not find any satisfactory outlet for their energies. They are full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, but rightly or wrongly they feel that there is no place for them in what is ordinarily known as parish work. They wish to deal with the social and economic problems of the day, and they complain that the Church makes no provision for such work. This material we need to utilize and organize in our churches, in the same way in which we have utilized and organized other material to care for the sick, the needy, the aged and infirm, the orphans and the fallen. Work for better social and economic conditions is as much a work for the spread of Christ's Kingdom on earth as any of these.

In general, St. Michael's Parish has been kept pretty clean, free from objectionable resorts, and the laws have been on the whole well enforced, thanks in part, certainly, to the activity and wakefulness of members of St. Michael's Church. About the beginning of the present century, however, owing partly to the famous "scattering of vice," the neighborhood was invaded by a number of objectionable and law-breaking saloons,

and the neighborhood of 110th Street came to be known as "little Coney Island," on account of its congregation of low dance halls and similar resorts. Had the churches, then united in Auxiliary D of the Federation of Churches, stood firmly together in opposing this evil, and demanding a rigid enforcement of the law, such a condition would probably never have arisen, or at least the evil would never have reached such proportions. Moreover, by serving the community in this regard, the churches would collectively and individually have strengthened their hold on the community. Unfortunately some of the churches declined to cooperate in law-enforcement work, holding that this was outside of the proper functions of the Church, and Auxiliary D was finally dissolved, to be revived, however, a couple of years later, in 1904, under another form and with a larger territorial field. A new organization of property holders was formed to meet the situation thus created, the Riverside and Morningside Heights Association, which in so far represented the church membership of the neighborhood that the pastors of three Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian churches were made vice-presidents of the association, and after a struggle of a couple of years with the dance hall proprietors, the Excise Department, and the local authorities, "little Coney Island" was finally cleaned up.

No description of the social and neighborhood work connected with St. Michael's Church would be complete without some account of the famous Amsterdam Avenue fight. In 1893 the Good Government Clubs were organized in this city for the purpose of bringing together men of both parties and no party on the common platform of good business administration of

the affairs of the city. The originator of that movement started the first club, A, in the upper Fifth Avenue neighborhood. The second club, B, was organized in this neighborhood. In the autumn of that same year Club B held a convention in Lyceum Hall, then used as a parish house, and put in nomination its own candidate for the Assembly, as a protest against the corrupt party politics represented in the nominee of the then dominant party. It succeeded in electing its candidate that year and the next. Twice after this it was compelled to put up independent candidates, but in general it may be said that, as a result of its activities, the candidates for the Senate and Assembly from this part of the city nominated by both parties have been men of unusual capacity and independence, and those elected have been on the whole worthy representatives of the citizens, instead of mere representatives of political bosses or organizations.

Somewhere in the fifties a city charter had been given for a railroad company to run up Tenth Avenue, one of the conditions being that it should continue to the Harlem River. In 1873 this charter was acquired by the Forty-Second Street, St. Nicholas, and Manhattanville Railroad, which, however, instead of building on Tenth Avenue, built on the Boulevard (Broadway). About 1880 the Ninth Avenue Railroad Company obtained a charter from the State for a horse-car railway on Tenth Avenue, and proceeded to build the same. In 1891 the Forty-Second Street, St. Nicholas, and Manhattanville Railroad, reviving its long forgotten charter and consents, commenced to construct another horse railway on Amsterdam Avenue, laying the tracks outside of those of the Ninth Avenue on either side. The sexton of St. Michael's Church, Mr. S. J. Luckings,

commenced suit to enjoin the railroad from laying tracks on Amsterdam Avenue, representing in this not only his own property interests, but also the interests of the church, which at that time deemed it expedient that individuals rather than the church should act in the matter. He was defeated in the court of first instance, appeal was taken but not pressed, and the railroad was built. From that time until 1897 two lines of horse cars ran up Amsterdam Avenue, the one on the inner tracks under the control of the Metropolitan Railway Company, which had absorbed the Sixth Avenue system, to which the Ninth Avenue Railway belonged, and the one on the outside tracks under the control of its rival system, the Third Avenue Railroad Company, which had absorbed the Forty-Second Street, St. Nicholas, and Manhattanville Railroad.

In 1897 both of these railroads applied to and obtained from the State Railroad Commission—an utterly inefficient body, supposed to exist to serve the interests of the people but in reality merely a tool of the politicians and railroad corporations combined—permission to change the motive power on their roads on Amsterdam Avenue to electricity; and the former obtained also permission from the then Commissioner of Public Works, General Collis, to open the street for the purpose of instituting the new system. This was done in midsummer, the advertisements required by law never meeting the eye of any one. At this point, by chance, Mr. Luckings learned what had been done and called the attention of the Rector of St. Michael's to the danger in the community which would result from four tracks of electric cars on such a thoroughfare. Not only would a railroad avenue with four tracks of electric cars prove

an irreparable injury to the property interests of this part of the city, it would also be a serious menace to life and limb, especially of those who could not protect themselves. There were at least 10,000 children in the public schools along that portion of Amsterdam Avenue which it was proposed to change into a four-track railroad avenue, besides numerous churches and institutions for aged people. It was on this ground, as one responsible for the care of little children and poor and feeble folk, to prevent Amsterdam Avenue from being turned into "Slaughter House Avenue," that the Rector of St. Michael's took the matter up. There was a meeting at its club house on 105th Street that night, August 30th, of the Executive Committee of Good Government Club B, of which Hon. W. B. Ellison was then president. The situation was laid before this meeting and a committee at once appointed to endeavor to prevent the outrage, of which Mr. Thomas A. Fulton, business agent of St. Michael's Parish and assistant to the Treasurer, was chairman. This committee soon organized a much larger committee, containing representatives of the West End Association and various local clubs, as well as the churches of the district, and St. Michael's Parish House became the headquarters of the "Amsterdam Avenue Anti-Grab Committee." The public agitation commenced with a series of mass meetings held in the various churches along the avenue, September 9th. Red lights burned in St. Michael's tower, which were answered from the West End Presbyterian Church on the north and Park Presbyterian Church on the south, giving the signal for the opening of the campaign to educate and arouse the community to what was going on, and the meaning of it. This was only the beginning of a series of mass

meetings which gradually aroused the whole city and attracted the attention of the State and country. As soon as the matter was brought to his attention, Mayor Strong announced himself emphatically opposed to the four tracks. The school board, the fire commissioners, and other departments of the municipal government joined in denouncing four electric tracks on Amsterdam Avenue as a menace to life, limb, and property. Real estate men and property holders' associations of all kinds, labor unions, and other organizations took part in these protests, and the press of the city, in various degree—the *Mail and Express* and the *Herald* leading in energy and effectiveness—by presentation in cartoons, editorials, interviews and the like, laid before the community the details of the proposed spoliation of the public, among other things representing the railroad companies as Herods planning a modern massacre of the innocents. The Railroad Commission made a ridiculous and futile demonstration of its own utter incompetence by publicly and officially announcing that had it known the facts it would never have granted to the roads permission to change their motive power, and calling on some one to restrain it through the courts. But the courts decided practically that a permission once granted was a sacrosanct property right, which could not be touched or tampered with.

Fortunately, the Third Avenue Railroad had been slow in applying for the requisite permit to open the streets, and now General Collis, as a result of the storm of indignation which had been aroused, refused to give the company a permit, without which it could not proceed to change the motive power on its tracks. At the same time, however, he refused to withdraw the

permit already granted to the Metropolitan Railway Company, or even to enforce the terms of that permit, or to take advantage of their violation of the same to hold up or stop the work. Fearful of interference the Metropolitan Company pushed the work of the change of power on its line with almost feverish haste, and the inner tracks were electrified and electric cars running on them before the close of the year. The Third Avenue Company went into court to secure a mandamus to compel the Commissioner of Public Works to grant it a permit to tear up the streets, in which it was defeated. Many members of St. Michael's Church and Vestry were by this time taking an active part in the fight and Mr. John A. Beall, the junior warden, being a lawyer, not only gave the rector the value of his unstinted legal aid and advice free of cost, but became the chief counsellor and adviser of the whole movement, assisted by Mr. John McDonald and Mr. John C. Coleman of the West End Association. Mr. Luckings's appeal of 1891 was revived, and the whole question of the rights of the Third Avenue Railroad Company on Amsterdam Avenue reopened. It was on the basis of the evidence which the lawyers presented that the courts refused to grant the Third Avenue Railroad the mandamus asked for. This was, however, only a temporary advantage. It was necessary to secure in Albany legislation permanently to prohibit the four tracks, and for this purpose a bill was drawn up, originally by representatives of the Independent Club of the Twenty-First Assembly District (this was the new name and title of the former Good Government Club B), and introduced by the Senator and Assemblyman of the district, John Ford and T. J. Murray.

The church practically put Mr. Thomas A. Fulton,

its business agent, at the disposition of the committee which was fighting for the protection of Amsterdam Avenue, and the greater part of his time was devoted not to the work of the church, but to the work of the committee, either at Albany or in this city, the church conceiving that it could in no way better serve the public than in protecting and preserving Amsterdam Avenue. The corporations and the politicians laughed at the idea of a popular agitation defeating their purposes of public spoliation. They had seen too much agitation of this description set at naught with impunity, even when backed by the whole press of the city, to be afraid of this new expression of public indignation. The bill introduced at Albany was never allowed to come to a final vote, being held up by the Railroad Committee until the last moment, and then allowed to pass the Senate only to be choked in the Assembly by the Committee on Rules. At the same time, by way of showing their power, the railroad corporations passed the infamous Eldridge bill, giving them practically everything belonging to the people still unseized.

The agitation against the four tracks on Amsterdam Avenue was continued through the summer and autumn of 1898. Prominent gentlemen of the West Side, like Mr. Isidor Straus and Mr. Cyrus Clark, working with the committee, endeavored to bring about an agreement between the corporations by which both roads should run over the same tracks. The Third Avenue Railroad had at first professed itself willing to do this, while the Metropolitan, being in possession, had been unwilling, claiming that such double use of the tracks was physically impossible. Conferences were held with the directors of the Metropolitan at their board room,

and later at the house of Mr. W. C. Whitney. Mr. Elihu Root, counsel of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, showed conclusively that the Third Avenue Railroad Company had no charter rights on Amsterdam Avenue and in many other places, and Mr. Lauterbach, counsel of the Third Avenue Railroad, showed conclusively that the Metropolitan Railroad was operating its roads in many places without a charter. Mr. Vreeland estimated, at Mr. Whitney's request, the cost of a railway from 71st to Manhattan Street as \$250,000, and Mr. Whitney authorized us to offer the Third Avenue Railroad the sum of \$300,000 for its rights on Amsterdam Avenue, which offer the latter spurned as ridiculous. It became plain that nothing was to be accomplished by negotiations with the railroads, and in point of fact those concerned came to believe that they could not trust the words or assurances of the railroad companies. One day's words were repudiated the following morning; each charged the other with fraudulent methods, but both stood together against the people. In matters of fact the representatives of the roads were guilty of absolute falsehood, unless they were singularly misinformed; for instance in the autumn or early winter of 1898-9, after the electric cars of the Metropolitan Railroad Company had been running for about a year on the avenue, the responsible representatives of those companies declared publicly in a hearing before the Common Council and elsewhere that the electric cars would be much less dangerous than horse cars on Amsterdam Avenue, and as evidence stated that during the year in which one line of electric cars had been in operation on Amsterdam Avenue there had been but one serious accident. An examination of the blotters of the police

stations along the avenue, made by Chief Devery at the request of the rector of this church, showed that there had been, in point of fact, fifty-one serious accidents during that period, practically none of which, however, had been reported in the press.

That autumn the candidates for the Legislature on both sides all through the West Side were pledged in advance to advocate the Committee's bill for the protection of Amsterdam Avenue; for so strong had feeling become that no one who did not publicly and unhesitatingly stand for such protection had any chance of election. With the usual reaction after a reform administration, Tammany elected the city ticket, and the unspeakable Van Wyck administration took office on January 1, 1899. The Commissioner of Highways, who had power under the new greater New York charter to issue permits for street openings, gave the Third Avenue Railroad the permit to open the streets which General Collis had refused, and that company began at once to turn the lower part of the avenue into an open trench preparatory to the work of electrifying the outside tracks. The papers openly declared that the permit was issued because the company had agreed to give the contract to a henchman of the "man who owned the city." Certainly the contractor commenced operations in a manner which seemed intended to show his belief in his own ownership of the avenue, putting residents and property holders to as great inconvenience as possible. Indeed, throughout this struggle the insolent attitude of the representatives of the Third Avenue Railroad was an important factor in rousing the popular indignation.

The Committee's bill to protect the avenue was introduced in the Legislature early in the session,

by John Ford in the Senate, as before, and in the Assembly by Edward H. Fallows, who had succeeded Murray as the representative of the 21st Assembly district. But it was now clear that, even should the Legislature pass the bill, which seemed unlikely, the injury would already have been done and the four electric tracks be an accomplished fact. It was necessary to find some speedy means of stopping the prosecution of the work. The only means available was a new suit against the railroad, with an injunction to prevent them from going on with the work in the meantime. But no private individual or organization could be found ready to take the risk and expense of such a suit against so powerful a corporation politically, with a possible chance of heavy damages to be paid afterwards. After careful consultation, not until, however, a contingent pledge of \$1000 each had been obtained from Mr. W. R. Peters, of St. Michael's Church, the Hon. Seth Low, Mr. W. Bayard Cutting and Mr. V. Everit Macy, the Rector, Wardens, and Vestry of St. Michael's Church, on January 9, 1899, commenced suit to restrain the Third Avenue Company from changing the motive power on its tracks on Amsterdam Avenue, applying also for an injunction *pendente lite*. Mr. John A. Beall was appointed counsel, with authority to engage other counsel as he saw fit. The Blind Home on 104th Street joined St. Michael's in the suit, with Judge Howland as its counsel; Simon Sterne was engaged as special counsel by St. Michael's, and the lawyers of the West End Association assisted as before. A temporary injunction was obtained, which was made permanent on March 6th, so far as the avenue in front of the property of the complainants was concerned. This action was of inestimable value, both in blocking

the further progress of the change of power until time could be had to secure the necessary legislation at Albany, and also in arousing and crystallizing public feeling. The press and the community at large felt that the action of the church in going into the courts had given a solid backbone to the whole movement, and men like Recorder Goff commended in public meetings the action taken for its wisdom and its public spirit. During the greater part of the month of January the Vestry may be said to have been in continuous session. Meetings were held night after night, and the vestrymen willingly gave up their business and pleasure to attend in the service of the people. It was necessary to raise money for the legal fight, as well as for the agitation. The church contributed \$100 to the general fund, and appealed to the other churches and institutions along the avenue to do the same, which most of them did, Columbia College, St. Luke's Hospital, and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine giving much larger sums. Property holders on the avenue were asked to contribute \$25 a lot. At first the Rector of St. Michael's gave his personal receipt for these contributions; then the committee was organized to handle money matters also, and a treasurer appointed for that purpose. The West End Association contributed \$500, the Good Government Club of the Nineteenth Assembly District \$250, and ultimately some thousands of dollars were collected.

While the lawyers were fighting in the courts, gathering and presenting evidence and the like, and Mr. Fulton was agitating and organizing mass meetings and securing the adherence of new clubs and organizations in the different parts of the city, a sharp legislative

battle was being waged in Albany by Ford and Fallows. Popular indignation had become so aroused that few legislators were willing individually to oppose the wishes of the people, but neither organization had as yet taken action on the proposed legislation, and the leaders of both organizations, in the Senate at least, were understood to be against the bill. The great difficulty in legislative fights of this character is to trace the secret influences which block the progress of bills or change their form. A bill is hung up, hearings are given, amendments are introduced, the bill is recommitted, it is put through the Assembly in one form and through the Senate in another, and finally it falls between the two houses and no one person or party can be held responsible. It is not even possible always to ascertain whether amendments are offered in good faith, what they really mean, and who are friends and who are foes. Individually, almost every one professed to be in favor of the bill, but this one thought it should be amended in this way and that one in the other.

There were some curious little episodes in the long fight. By this time all the churches on the West Side and some elsewhere had become participants. Father Galligan and the Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Name especially were a tower of strength. They took care of the Roman Catholic churches, we of the Protestant. On Saturdays a statement of the situation was prepared and sent out to the various churches, in which distribution the press rendered also most efficient service. On Sunday, March 6th, Mr. Richard Croker, then head of Tammany Hall, attempted to reach the rector of St. Michael's Church on the telephone, to assure him that from that time on he would use all his

endeavors to have the Tammany legislators array themselves on the side of the people. St. Michael's at that time had no telephone, and it chanced that the pastor of the Bloomingdale Reformed Church had a name strikingly similar to that of the rector of St. Michael's, namely, Madison C. Peters. To him, therefore, by accident, Mr. Croker made his communication. That was the first intimation that the political leaders realized the seriousness of the people's movement. The following evening, at a mass meeting held at the West Side Republican Club, a letter was read from Mr. Croker to the same effect, which was greeted with tumultuous cheers. At the same time Judge Scott rendered his decision granting an injunction to St. Michael's Church and the Blind Home on grounds which promised ultimate victory and which showed how supine and derelict the city authorities had been and were in permitting such robbery of the streets. There was great rejoicing that night, some one chimed the bells, and the whole neighborhood thought the battle was won. There was very serious danger of ultimate disaster as a result of over-confidence.

The Third Avenue Company continued to press the work of construction on Amsterdam Avenue, for the injunction covered only that part of the avenue in front of the property of the complainants. The Tammany Mayor and Corporation Counsel and the Commissioner of Highways, who had it within their power to stop the work instantly, took no steps to intervene. Indeed, throughout the Mayor acted as though he were attorney for the company against the city, even insulting the people's representatives who appeared before him. In Albany the people's bill remained in committee, which was also considering amendments presented by the

corporations to take out its fangs. It was announced that the Senate Railroad Committee would consider and report the bill on Wednesday the 9th. Then, at the suggestion of Mr. Louis A. Lehmaier, a public demonstration of a new sort was undertaken. Up to this time the people had protested through the press and in mass meetings, sometimes three or four being held simultaneously in the churches and halls along Amsterdam Avenue, or even in other parts of the city, for the whole city was now beginning to take part in the fight. Now it was resolved to hold a great mass meeting in the capitol at Albany itself. Notice was given through the press and at meetings that on March 9th a delegation of the people would go to Albany to demand action on the bill. Almost 1100 people took part in that demonstration—representatives of all the political clubs on the West Side, of the School Board, and individually of a number of public and private schools, of all the colleges, churches, and institutions, and of a number of trades and organizations. It was by all odds the most imposing demonstration of the sort ever made, and represented every class and interest on the West Side, in addition to many representatives from other parts of the city. Those who had organized the demonstration arranged it in procession at Albany, and 1100 angry New Yorkers, headed by the rectors of the Church of the Holy Name and St. Michael's, arm in arm, marched from the railroad station to the capitol. When the head of that procession had reached the top of the capitol steps, the tail of the procession had not yet left the station. The Railroad Committee of the Senate took occasion to assert its disdain of such popular demonstrations by choosing this opportunity to present an amendment.

to the bill, drawn in the interest of the Third Avenue Railroad Company and brought to Albany by the Tammany leader. But before the delegation reached New York on its return, a telegram delivered on board the train showed that the Senate would not stand by its committee, and the following day the Assembly passed the people's bill. Still there was delay, and the usual legislative tricks of amendments and references. On Saturday, March 12th, the following letter was addressed to all the clergy of New York without regard to denomination, and it was estimated that on Sunday the 13th the rectors and pastors of no less than a hundred churches throughout the city read this letter to their people and urged and advocated active support of the committee in charge of the Amsterdam Avenue fight:

AN APPEAL TO THE CLERGY.

Satisfied with the knowledge that the combating of evil is as much a part of religion as the encouragement of goodness, and inasmuch as a crime is about to be committed that will endanger the lives of the children in our neighborhood, we call on all ministers as the servants of Him who has said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me," to unite with us in arousing the citizens of New York to the grave danger which menaces their children, wives, and parents, their liberty, their rights, and their property, and ask them to espouse in their pulpits the cause of the people fighting to save Amsterdam Avenue from such an engine of destruction as four trolley tracks would be.

In preventing this outrage on Amsterdam Avenue they are also preventing the establishment of a precedent which, if created, may some day result in their suffering from the danger against which we would guard our loved ones.

We, therefore, ask them to make our cause their cause. There is to be a mass meeting of citizens held on Monday

night at Durland's Riding Academy, Fifty-ninth Street and the Boulevard, to protest against the abrogation of the rights of citizens to use their streets as best suits their convenience, and we entreat all clergymen to urge their congregations to attend, and if not able to attend to write to their respective senators and members of Assembly asking them to vote for the Ford bill without amendments.

Yours respectfully,

REV. JAMES M. GALLIGAN,
Catholic Church of the Holy Name of Jesus.

REV. JOHN P. PETERS,
St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church.

The next night a great mass meeting was held at Durland's Riding Academy, one of the largest meetings of the sort ever held in New York. The presiding officer, John Harsen Rhoades, and the speakers were conservative business men and lawyers. The deep indignation of the people against the railroad companies was manifested in the utterances of the presiding officer and the other conservative business men with him, which were radical and almost inflammatory; and when Mr. Rhoades suggested that in order to control the railroads it might be necessary to resort to municipal ownership, the whole vast audience, of the most eminently respectable type, cheered uproariously. The people were ready for anything against the railroads. By this time the leaders of both parties realized the seriousness of the situation, and that officially neither party could afford to antagonize the popular will so definitely expressed. On the following Sunday, March 20th, Senator Ford and Assemblyman Fallows came to the rectory from a conference with the acting leader of the Republican party to ask the rector of St. Michael's Church to hold a conference with him, with regard to the proposed legislation.

Friendly influences had been at work with the leader of the Republican party, Senator Platt, then absent in Florida, who had sent his commands to the party managers to support the people's measure. He was at the moment himself hastening back to take charge of the situation. At the conference which ensued the Republican leader was frank to say that although the Republicans commanded a majority in the Legislature they were unable to control that majority in legislation adverse to the corporation interests, and he accordingly advised a conference with Mr. Croker, as the head of Tammany Hall, and arranged the same for that afternoon at the Democratic Club. At that conference Mr. Croker expressed himself as entirely in sympathy with the wishes of the people and explained with brutal frankness the relation of the railway companies to the two political parties in the city and State, and their great power in those parties. He offered to present to the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall a proposition to instruct the Democratic members of the Legislature from New York city to vote for the measure to protect Amsterdam Avenue, advocated by the people's committee, either in its present form or with such amendments as that committee might see fit to adopt later. Mr. Croker was frank to say that, while he believed Tammany Hall could control all its own members, the money of the corporations and other influences would undoubtedly be used against the bill, and there was no power which under such circumstances could control the up-State legislators. The next day, Monday, the Tammany Executive Committee passed the vote which Mr. Croker had suggested, and from that time onward the solid vote of the Tammany delegation was cast for the people's measure, with only

such amendments or changes as the people's committee itself proposed or formally accepted.

At the outset of the fight the two street railroad companies had stood together against the public interest, but now the Metropolitan abandoned its comrade and joined the popular side. A conference was held at Mr. Sterne's office between the legal representatives of the two companies and the representatives of the people; and the Metropolitan Railway, through its representatives, withdrew its opposition to and expressed its approval of the people's bill. All the more desperately the Third Avenue Company, which would be the immediate loser by the passage of the people's bill, fought at Albany. The leader of the Tammany delegation telephoned down that the representative of the Third Avenue Railroad was in Albany "with half a million in his pocket" and that it was "hard to hold the boys." To the honor of Tammany discipline, however, he said that not one man failed to obey orders. Finally Governor Roosevelt took a hand in the fight in behalf of the people, but at the same time insisted upon an amendment, to let the Third Avenue Company down easy, which in the judgment of the committee might raise a question of constitutionality about the bill. However, this seemed to be the best that could be done, and so with this change the people's bill, practically prohibiting four tracks of electric street railway on Amsterdam Avenue, was finally passed by the unanimous vote of both houses of the Legislature on April 10th, approved by the Mayor, no one appearing against it, and signed by the Governor April 20, 1899.

While the Tammany delegation at Albany had voted with the people, the Tammany administration in New

York city stood by the railroad company. In spite of Judge Scott's decision the Corporation Counsel would not bring suit to restrain or oust the company, the Commissioner of Highways would not revoke the street opening permit, and the Third Avenue Railroad still continued the work of construction of an electric subway. Finally the rector of this church called on Mr. Croker at 111 Broadway on behalf of the people's Committee and called his attention to the fact that, in the first place, it had been from the outset in the power of the Tammany city administration to stop the work of the Third Avenue Railroad Company had it so desired; and that, in the second place, the continuance of that work in the face of the legislation obtained in Albany, and the professions of Tammany Hall that it would support the people's Committee in its efforts to protect Amsterdam Avenue, must inevitably make it appear that it was playing a crooked game. The facts in the case laid before him, Mr. Croker appreciated the truth of the statement, and, the Corporation Counsel entering at that moment, demanded of him what was meant by such action. The Corporation Counsel laid the blame on the Commissioner of Highways, who was summoned by telephone and somewhat peremptorily advised of his duty and his opportunity, and within the hour the permit was withdrawn and the work of construction stopped. So ended one phase of a very remarkable struggle, which had taught the people of New York their own power, and shown, furthermore, the influence which the Christian Church possesses in this city, when it will use its influence in behalf of the real interests of the people.

But the fight to rid Amsterdam Avenue of its four tracks was not finished until this present centenary

year. One result of its two years' fight against the people was the practical bankruptcy of the Third Avenue Railway Co., which was forthwith absorbed by the Metropolitan, so that the surface lines of the entire city west of the East River were in the hands of one company. Then commenced a fight to secure by indirection what had been directly prohibited by law. Year after year sneak bills were introduced at Albany which, under the guise of a railroad franchise in some other part of the State, or permission to lay tracks on some other street, contained provisions which would have nullified the anti-four-track legislation of 1899. It was a very sad and humiliating spectacle. Directors who counted themselves respectable men, some of them members of Christian churches, and lawyers of capacity, who ranked high in their profession, combined to rob the public under the guise of law. The streets which had been seized by the company without payment or warrant of law were now made theirs by acts of Legislature, defective charters were mended up and new charters given free. Incessant vigilance was needed to protect Amsterdam Avenue. The Independent Club, the West End Association, the Riverside and Morningside Heights Association, the Republican and Democratic Clubs, the Transit Reform Committee of One Hundred, and other organizations maintained committees which were ready to be called together for action at a moment's notice, either to go to Albany to oppose bills, or, if necessary, to organize mass meetings.

The last of such mass meeting was held in St. Michael's Parish House in 1905. A sneak bill had passed the committee and reached third reading in the house. A representation of the West Side committees called

on the Mayor to act for the city in opposing the bill. His attitude was unfriendly. Instantly a mass meeting was called, and by the time it convened a despatch was in hand from the Mayor arraying the city against the bill. At Albany the city representatives of both parties (the bill had been introduced by the railroad's up-State agents) acted with such promptitude and effectiveness that its promoters suffered an ignominious defeat on the floor of the House.

In 1902, the outer tracks on Amsterdam Avenue being now practically unused and constituting a nuisance as well as a continued menace, the Borough President Mr. Cantor, notified the company to tear up the tracks within thirty days, or otherwise he would tear them up at their expense. The railroad company secured an injunction, and for some years the matter was fought back and forth in the courts. The city authorities did not display any very great zeal in the case, however, and the matter was kept alive at all largely through the persistency of Mr. Charles De Hart Brower, chairman of the Amsterdam Avenue Committee of the Independent Club. Finally, in 1906, the Attorney-General of the State gave Mr. Brower permission to bring suit for the annulment of the charter of the Forty-Second Street, Manhattanville, and St. Nicholas Railroad Company on Amsterdam Avenue, and Mr. A. Walker Otis, chairman of the similar committee of the West End Association, was appointed Deputy Attorney-General for the prosecution of the suit. The company then offered to remove its tracks if the suit for annulment were not pressed, and in June of this year an order of the court was issued for the removal of the tracks and the restoration of the avenue to its former condition. So in this our centenary year, after a

fight extending over sixteen years, the people have at last won the victory.

To make the story complete it should be added that the Ford Franchise Tax bill, also passed in 1899, was originally introduced as a part of the Amsterdam Avenue fight. It was originally proposed as a sort of flank movement, no one at the time supposing that such a measure could be passed in one session of the Legislature, if at all. Ford took the bill and made it his own, but he was able to carry it through only because of the tremendous popular sentiment aroused by the Amsterdam Avenue fight. So a measure of State and national importance was an indirect outcome of a fight for local relief.

Another measure of almost equal importance may be traced to the same struggle. As the result of the Amsterdam Avenue fight the Independent Club, with which it had begun, maintained a constant watch on street railroad conditions. In 1903 the wretched transit conditions then prevailing and the absolutely indecent overcrowding on both the elevated and surface railroads led to the appointment of a new committee and the commencement of a new fight. This committee, of which Mr. J. H. Cohen was chairman, called a mass meeting in St. Michael's Parish House to protest against the existing conditions, which meeting resulted in the formation of the Transit Reform Committee of One Hundred. It was through the work of the legal committee of this committee that the railroads were compelled to give the transfers called for by law, but theretofore refused by them. The efforts of this committee to find out the law governing the railroads, the actual terms of their charters, and their obligations toward the public revealed such a hope-

less condition of incapacity on the part of the State Railroad Commission to cope with the situation, that this committee found itself obliged to take the lead in an endeavor to secure legislation which should remedy these conditions by creating a competent and efficient railroad commission for New York city. A bill to create such a commission was introduced in the Legislature year after year, and opposed by the railroads and the political "machine." Finally last winter Governor Hughes took up the measure which his fellow citizens of the West Side had so long championed, modified it and broadened its scope, and brought to a successful issue the work which they had undertaken to perform. So in this our centenary year the Amsterdam Avenue fight may be said to have had its complete fruition. This whole episode has been treated at some length because of its intrinsic interest and its importance both in the history of the neighborhood and in the history of the church itself.

It is difficult to describe the work of the parish without seeming to emphasize unduly the part played in that work by the rector. It is in fact the work of many men and women which has made St. Michael's parish what it is to-day. Many souls striving together, many acts of daily sacrifice, much service of many whose names are never known except to one or two, many little things done by many men, women, and children have built the real church of St. Michael of which this outward church is but a symbol,—but these are things which can be told in no book, and yet with them untold less than half the story of the parish has been written.

In concluding this chapter, which covers the period of my own rectorship, I can only lay before my readers



ST. MICHAEL'S CHOIR

dry and bare comparisons to show how the church has grown in the hundred years of its history. In 1807 and for many years thereafter there were but twenty or thirty communicants at the outside; there were five or six baptisms, marriages, and burials, and ordinarily no confirmations, in a year. The church could support but half a rector, and that only if Trinity would pay the better part of his salary. A hundred years ago St. Michael's was a mere chapel of ease for a few well-to-do summer residents, with a plain and cheap wooden building seating perhaps 200 people. To-day St. Michael's is a great church of the people in the midst of a crowded portion of the city, with a handsome church building of stone, seating 1600, and a large and well-equipped parish house, not a few of the rooms in which would seat as many people as did the first church.

There are 1711 communicants on our roll, an increase of almost 100 within the year; for with the continued increase of population the church is still steadily growing. These 1711 names, it should be said, represent actual communicants, those who have received the communion during the year, although that number has never received communion together at one time. The largest number receiving communion on one day, Easter, 1907, was 1190, and during the week following 339 more received that blessed sacrament. Our membership of baptized persons is 4812; 125 baptisms were recorded in the year past, of which 23 were adults; 99 persons were confirmed, 84 couples married, and 133 persons buried. Our Sunday School now numbers 742 scholars, of whom about 600 belong to the parish proper, the remainder to The Sheltering Arms, and 74 teachers.

Our budget for the year, as reported to the

Diocesan Convention, represents a total expenditure of \$35,278.18, of which \$24,700.62 was spent on the current expenses of the parish, including all salaries, fuel, etc., both for the Parish House and the church; \$2327.50 was spent in providing for the poor in the parish and neighborhood; \$556.10 for the Sunday School; \$1545 for repairs and improvements of various descriptions in church and Parish House; and \$2405.57 for other objects within the parish, that is for work in the gymnasium, guilds, and the like. For diocesan work, including the City Mission Society, the Arch-deaconry, the Mission to Seamen, and various diocesan charitable objects, \$1008.53 was contributed. For work without the Diocese, principally the mission work of the Church at home and abroad, the amount of our contributions has been \$2734.86. The total amount raised by the congregation was \$17,736.94, of which \$11,666.05 was for ourselves and \$6070.89 for others, as represented by missions, charity, and various benevolences. A comparison of the totals of receipts and disbursements will show to what extent the church is dependent for the support of its work upon the endowment, and to what extent upon the voluntary contributions of its members.



ST. CECILIA GUILD
Sunday School and Special Choir

PART II

LIVES OF THE RECTORS OF ST.
MICHAEL'S CHURCH



REV. JOHN VANDERBILT BARTOW,
First Rector, 1808-1810

CHAPTER VIII

FIRST RECTOR

REV. JOHN VANDERBILT BARTOW

1808-1810

REV. JOHN VANDERBILT BARTOW, born in New Rochelle on October 17, 1787, was the sixth son of the Rev. Theodosius Bartow, known as "Parson Bartow," of New Rochelle, and the grandson of the Rev. John Bartow, who came to this country from England as a missionary for the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel. In the Journal of the First Convention of the Diocese of New York, June 27, 1787, Theodosius Bartow appears as a lay-delegate representing New Rochelle, which parish he continued to represent for a number of years. In the Diocesan Journal of 1799 mention is made of the fact that he had regularly officiated as lay-reader at New Rochelle for five years, and he is recommended to the Bishop for Holy Orders. The following year, 1790, he appears as rector at New Rochelle and continues rector until 1819.

His son, John Vanderbilt, was graduated at Columbia College in this city in 1806, and studied for the ministry under the direction of Bishop Moore, then Bishop of the Diocese. He was ordained deacon in the following year, at a special ordination held in St. George's Chapel.

New York, December 13, 1807, and priest three years later, November 2, 1810. He was called to the charge of St. Michael's Church on May 16, 1808, and resigned his charge on August 27, 1810.

Being deacon during the whole period of his incumbency at St. Michael's, he does not appear as rector of that church in the Convention Journal and was not entitled to a seat in Convention.

Minutes of his official acts in his own hand-writing on loose sheets of paper, bound together by his successor, are in the possession of the parish, no regular parish register having been opened at that time. These records commence almost immediately after his ordination as deacon and continue during the period of his incumbency. They include baptisms, marriages, etc., performed not only at St. Michael's Church, but in Trinity Church and its various chapels, St. Stephen's and Zion churches, in New Rochelle and in Savannah, Ga. Some of them are rather interesting as revealing conditions at that period. The first baptism recorded, December 20, 1807, is that of "John Farr, aged ten years, supposed to be at the point of death, a poor widow's son, William Street, New York." There was slavery in those days, as is shown by such entries as this: "Saturday night, April 12, 1817, at New Rochelle, John Thompson, a black man of my father's, to Mrs. Thompson, a widow, black." The most curious entry, however, is the following: "Saturday afternoon, August 17, 1809, attended the funeral of Mr. Stoutenburgh from the corner of Lombard and Cedar Streets, to Trinity Church, but refused to read the service, as he was found drowned and supposed to have committed suicide. Aged fifty-six." In connection with the notices of weddings, Mr. Bartow has added a memorandum

of fees given, which vary from \$1 to \$5; while at burials it was the custom to give to the clergyman a scarf and a pair of gloves.

Two years after leaving St. Michael's Church, in 1812, Mr. Bartow became rector of Christ Church, Savannah, Ga. In 1815 he accepted the rectorship of Trinity Church, Baltimore, Md., where he remained until his death, July 14, 1836, at Perth Amboy, N. J.; in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church at which place he is buried.

He was married by his father in 1811 to Matilda Wilson, daughter of Archibald and Phœbe Helms Stewart, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. Several of his grandchildren and great-grandchildren are now living in Montclair and Englewood, N. J., and in Baltimore, Md., and one granddaughter lives in Germany.

CHAPTER IX

SECOND RECTOR

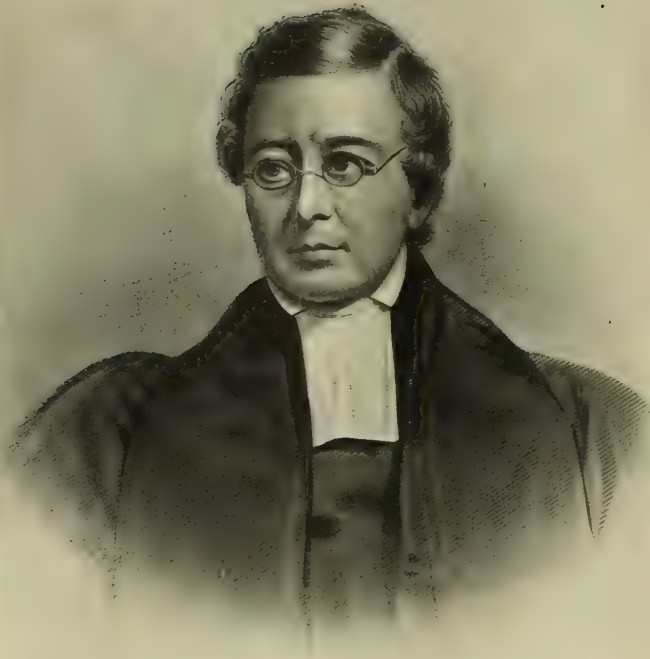
REV. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS

1810-1820

REV. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS was the son of Rev. Abraham Jarvis, D.D. (later the second Bishop of Connecticut), and Ann Farmar of New York. He was born at Middletown, Conn., where his father was first rector of Christ Church, and studied at Yale College, from which he graduated in 1805. He was ordained deacon on Sunday, March 18, A.D. 1810, by his father, the Rt. Rev. Abraham Jarvis, D.D., Bishop of Connecticut, in Trinity Church, New Haven, and priest in the same church by the same bishop on Friday, April 5, 1811.

On Saturday, November 17, 1810, the Vestry of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale, chose him to be their minister, or, in the event of his obtaining priest's orders, their rector. He accepted the invitation on March 22, 1811, and took charge of the cure in April of the same year.

Dr. Jarvis's scholarly character and accurate methods are illustrated in the register of St. Michael's Church. From the loose sheets which Mr. Bartow had left he abstracted all the records dealing directly with St. Michael's Church and entered them very carefully in



REV. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D.
Second Rector, 1810-1820

a book provided for the purpose, appending this certificate: "The above record I certify to be a true copy from several loose papers found by me in the secretary's register of the parish of vestry meetings of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, Rector." His devout Churchmanship makes itself manifest in the invocation which he prefixes to the record of his own entries:

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I, Samuel Farmar Jarvis, do promise that every page of the following book subscribed by my name shall contain as true and faithful a record as I shall be able to make, without any willful addition, alteration or omission, of all the baptisms, marriages and burials which shall be celebrated in this parish by me during the course of my ministry in the same, so help me God: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Dr. Jarvis's portion of the records of St. Michael's parish is a credit to any parish and any rector—accurately kept, written in a careful and legible hand, with very few erasures or corrections.

St. Michael's parish was in Dr. Jarvis's time, a small country parish designed principally for the convenience of persons who resided in their country seats in the neighborhood of the church during the summer, and at the outset Dr. Jarvis lived in the city, at 490 Broadway. Later a residence was provided for him in the neighborhood of the church, and mention is made of hiring the Striker house for that purpose. This was after he had become rector also of St. James's Church, Hamilton Square (Lexington Avenue and 69th Street).

As will appear from the history of the parish, Dr. Jarvis interested himself in educational matters, and under his rectorship free day schools were established for poor people in connection with both St. Michael's

and St. James's churches. These schools were designed for the poor people of the neighborhood, not for the children of the well-to-do. Dr. Jarvis's interest in improving the condition of the poor is attested further by the fact that during the last year of his rectorship, 1819, he commenced holding services in the two spots on the upper west side of the city where there were at that period small villages containing a population of poor people, namely, Manhattanville and Fort Washington. In September, 1817, Dr. Berrian, Rector of Trinity Church, was granted a leave of absence, and Dr. Jarvis of St. Michael's and St. James's and Mr. Johnston of Newtown were engaged to officiate in that parish on Sunday afternoons for six months during his absence. In 1818 and again in 1819 Dr. Jarvis was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese. In 1817 began the agitation for the establishment of a Theological Seminary for the instruction of young men for the ministry, and in 1818 Dr. Jarvis was given a leave of absence for a period in order to devote himself to collecting money for the seminary.

On May 22, 1819, Dr. Jarvis resigned the rectorship of St. Michael's and St. James's to accept a professorship of Biblical Learning in the new General Theological Seminary, a position which he did not long retain, however, owing apparently to the controversy between the general Church and the Diocese of New York as to the control of that seminary. During the entire period of his connection with the seminary he continued to act as rector of St. Michael's and St. James's, not finally severing his relations with these churches until the end of June, 1820. In the same year he became rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, a position which he continued to hold until 1826. From 1826 to 1835 he

travelled in Europe. On his return from his travels he was made professor of Oriental Literature in Washington College, now Trinity, Hartford, Conn., but two years later he resigned this position to accept the rectorship of Christ Church, Middletown, of which his father had been rector at the time of his birth, a charge which he filled until 1842. In 1819 the University of Pennsylvania gave him the degree of D.D., and in 1837 Washington College (Trinity), Hartford, gave him the degree of LL.D. He was regarded at that time as one of the most distinguished scholars of the Church, and the General Convention of 1838 appointed him historiographer of the Church. In connection with this office he planned a great work of Church history, only one volume of which was ever published, namely, *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, 1845.

He married Sarah McCurdy Hart of Saybrook, Conn., and in the records of this parish there is mention of the births of three children: John Abraham, 1814; Jeannette Hart, 1815; and Ann Christian, 1819; and the death in Europe of the eldest of these children, John Abraham, in 1834. The remains of this son were interred in St. Michael's Churchyard and lie beneath the present church building. One of Dr. Jarvis's sons, born at a later date, the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D.D., is at the present time Rector Emeritus of Christ Church, Brooklyn, Conn., opposite Middletown, where his grandfather and father served before him.

Dr. Jarvis died on March 26, 1851. How highly he was esteemed by the parish of which he was once rector is shown by the fact that, on receipt of the news of his death, more than thirty years after the date of the severance of his relations with this parish, a special meeting of the Vestry was called on March 28, 1851, to pass resolutions of bereavement.

CHAPTER X

THIRD RECTOR

REV. WILLIAM RICHMOND

1820-1837, 1842-1858

WILLIAM RICHMOND was of an old New England family, of which John Richmond (†1664), originally of Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire, England, who came to this country about 1635, was the American progenitor. His son, Captain Edward Richmond († 1696), General Solicitor (1667-72) and Attorney General of the colony (1677-80), acquired a farm at Little Compton, Rhode Island, including within its limits Treaty Rock, where Colonel Benjamin Church made the treaty with the queen sachem of the Saconets, Awashonks, which broke up the power of King Philip of Mount Haup. This is the Richmond homestead. Here Edward Richmond was buried, and his farm has remained in the family up to the present time, through seven generations of descendants, serving its later owners as a place of rest and temporary retirement from the toil and tumult of their life work.

William Richmond, grandson of Colonel Silvester Richmond and son of William Richmond (1770-1850) and Clarissa Andrews, his wife, was born at Dighton, Mass., on Dec. 11, 1797. His parents were Congrega-



REV. WILLIAM RICHMOND
Third Rector, 1820-1837, 1842-1858

tionalists and apparently belonged to that wing of the Congregationalists who either did not believe in infant baptism or at least were not strenuous with regard to it. He was educated at Brown College in Providence, and after graduation went to Schenectady, N. Y., where he began the study of the law. Here he was converted, if we may apply that term to the conscious awakening of the Christian spirit within him, and baptized at St. George's Church, March 31, 1816, by the Rev. Cyrus Stebbins; Thomas C. Brownell, afterwards Bishop of Connecticut, and Samuel Johnstone acting as his witnesses. Later his whole family felt the influence of this action, through which most of them were finally brought into the membership of the Church. He himself baptized three of his sisters and one brother, together with various of his Rhode Island and Massachusetts kinsfolk—Richmond, Tillinghast, Pitman, Whitmarsh—and recorded their baptisms in the register of St. Michael's Church, during his ministry there. Richmond's conversion meant, however, far more than baptism and the acceptance of Christianity as the rule of life. He was filled with a great zeal to preach the Gospel, especially to the poor, the outcast, the ignorant, and the unbelieving, and among his earliest papers is a record of his desire to give his days to a frontier missionary life. He at once commenced to study for the ministry, and in the Convention report of 1817 appears as a candidate for orders. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Hobart in Grace Church, New York, December 21, 1818, and at once removed to the Diocese of Pennsylvania, where for eighteen months he was engaged in missionary work in the service of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity, partly in the new State of Ohio and in Western Pennsylvania, about

Pittsburg, where he was for a time minister of Trinity Church, and partly in and about Philadelphia.

In 1817, William Hamilton, Esq., of Hamiltonville, now part of West Philadelphia, had deeded four fifty foot lots for a church. Knowledge of this finally coming to the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania stimulated that Society to undertake a work of church extension in Philadelphia, which is thus recorded in the Society's report for the year 1819:

The Trustees having ascertained that there were a considerable number of the members of our church residing in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, who were anxious for the enjoyment of public worship, thought that, by some attention on their part, congregations might be established, and churches erected in the suburbs of the city, and in one or more of those pleasant villages which are situated on the banks of the Schuylkill. An appropriation was therefore made for a domestic mission. Information having been conveyed to those for whose benefit this appointment was intended, they entered into the plan with much earnestness and zeal, and provided places for the celebration of Divine Service. . . . At Hamiltonville Divine Service was held on every other Sunday morning, from the beginning of May to the 7th of November, and on every Sunday morning from November 7th to December 1st, in a school-house, where a respectable and pretty numerous congregation usually assembled. And there were a number of Episcopal families, some of whom came from Mantua and the surrounding country.

The Rev. William Richmond was placed in charge of this mission, officiating in the district of Southwark, at the Falls of Schuylkill and at Hamiltonville. Out of the work at the latter place grew later St. Mary's Church, now one of the strong parishes of Philadelphia.

On May 24, 1820, Mr. Richmond was called by joint action of the vestries of St. Michael's and St. James's to become minister of the two churches, or, in the event of his receiving ordination as priest, to become their rector. His acceptance of the call is dated June 3, 1820, and he began his work at Bloomingdale with the close of that month, although he did not technically become rector until he was priested by Bishop Hobart in St. Michael's Church, December 21, 1821. From the outset his relation to his parishioners seems to have been most cordial. He was a man of attractive personality, a good but not a great preacher, and an admirable pastor, sympathetic and affectionate, one who made no enemies and who was beloved by all to whom he ministered.

In the vestry records of St. James's Church, under date of May 15, 1823, there is an entry which throws some light on Mr. Richmond's domestic relations, to the effect that the vestry, being notified of an increase of \$150 in the rector's salary on the part of St. Michael's Church, with the suggestion that St. James's Church should increase the salary to the same amount, votes not to comply with this request, but to grant a "gratuity of \$100 to be given on the day of the rector's wedding." In fact he married in that summer Christiana Beckham of Philadelphia. But his life with her was brief. She died of consumption at her parents' home in Philadelphia a year later, August 20, 1824, aged twenty-two years and six months. A few years afterwards Mr. Richmond married a second time, Sarah Clarkson, the youngest daughter of General Matthew Clarkson of Revolutionary fame, one of the leading citizens of New York, a marriage which brought him into connection with all the older New York families who at that time

owned country seats in Bloomingdale and the surrounding neighborhood.

At the very outset of his ministry Mr. Richmond commenced an aggressive work of Church extension. He regarded the whole of the upper part of the island, from below 59th Street northward, as his parish, in which it was his duty to establish the church. Dr. Jarvis had already, in 1819, begun some sort of occasional services at Fort Washington, in which region there was a settlement of very poor people. In the church register there is a record of thirteen "children baptized in the School House at Fort Washington at a lecture, January 17, 1819, P. M., Second Sunday after Epiphany." Mr. Richmond took up the work thus begun. On a scrap of paper in his handwriting, now in my possession, he states that the first record which he can find of his services at Fort Washington was on November 26, 1820, at Mr. Morse's house. These services were continued for many years in the school-house, at Fort Washington, and out of them grew St. Ann's Church, as recorded elsewhere in this volume. On November 26, 1820, Mr. Richmond also conducted his first service in Manhattanville. In 1819 Dr. Jarvis had begun holding occasional services there. Mr. Richmond took up his work, with a view to the ultimate organization of a church, and on Thanksgiving Day, December 18, 1823, a church was organized under the State law with the title "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, Ninth Ward, of the City of New York." Mr. Richmond was chosen rector and continued to fill that office, with brief intermissions, until 1853. During the greater portion of this period he received a nominal salary of \$300 a year, which was never paid,

and which he ultimately donated, with other sums for which the parish had become indebted to him, totaling over \$7000, to the parish.

On the east side of what is now Central Park and within the parochial limits of St. James's, Hamilton Square, of which Mr. Richmond was also rector, lay the village of Yorkville. York Hill was the name then applied to the hill on which stands the old reservoir in the Park. From this hill the neighboring village of Yorkville took its name. The people of this village, who were very poor, did not attend St. James's Church, which was meant for the well-to-do occupants of the country residences in that neighborhood. If they were to have any church at all, it was manifest that the Church must go to them. Accordingly, Mr. Richmond undertook special services among these people, beginning April 6, 1828, and continuing for many years. This ultimately resulted in the organization of a church, never incorporated and never admitted to union with the Diocese, St. Matthew's, which at a later date was replaced by the Church of the Redeemer.

Toward the end of the same year, 1828, Mr. Richmond extended his activities to Harlem. This was a village of considerable importance, founded at an early date and having a well-established Dutch Reformed Church. There were, however, not a few Episcopalians residing in Harlem, some for the summer and some all the year round. These found it difficult and inconvenient to attend services at St. James's or St. Michael's. In 1828 Mr. Richmond engaged the Rev. G. L. Hinton as assistant minister to him in his capacity as rector of St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, with the understanding that Mr. Hinton's special work should be to endeavor to organize a church in

Harlem. Through the courtesy of the trustees of the village academy, who were members of the Reformed Church, the use of that building was secured for the Episcopal services. The first service was held in this school-house on December 7, 1828, Mr. Richmond officiating, after which date the services were continued by the Rev. G. L. Hinton, acting as Mr. Richmond's assistant. The success of this work was instant, and on the 14th of February, 1829, St. Andrew's Church, Harlem, was duly organized and Mr. Hinton elected its first rector.

In 1829 it seemed good to the Church in Convention assembled that some one of its bishops should visit the great western and southwestern territory, and at a meeting of the Board of Domestic and Foreign Missions, held August 29th, it was arranged that the Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut, should make a missionary trip through this country, the Rev. Frank L. Hawkes being appointed to accompany him. The latter, after his appointment, resigned and the Rev. William Richmond was appointed by the Executive Committee to take his place. Mr. Richmond was a family connection and a distant kinsman of Bishop Brownell, who, it will be remembered, stood as his godfather. The special work assigned to Mr. Richmond was to collect money for the mission work in the south and west and organize auxiliary missionary committees wherever he could do so. This missionary trip lasted about four months, from the middle of November, 1829, until the latter part of March, 1830. Going through Pennsylvania from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, they then descended the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, thence to Mobile by water and from Mobile overland through Alabama and the terri-

tory of the Creek nation to the Atlantic States and so up through Savannah, Charleston, Richmond, and Washington. Several churches were consecrated on this trip; in some cases, as at Louisville, the money to pay off the debt being first collected by Mr. Richmond. Several clergy were ordained, confirmation was administered in a number of churches, in some States for the first time, and finally a convention of the clergy and lay delegates from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama was held to organize those States into a new diocese, the Southwestern Diocese.

Bishop Brownell's report of this trip was first published in the *Spirit of Missions*, something over twenty years later, in 1851. Mr. Richmond's report, to which the Bishop refers, was never published, but a manuscript diary in his handwriting has been preserved, which contains much interesting information about the country visited, the state of the Church in the same, with incidental allusions to politics and prominent persons whom they met in every community. Mr. Richmond's earlier missionary work in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio stood him in good stead on this trip. He was familiar with the ways of the country and had many acquaintances who were not only glad to see him again, but also to pass him on to others.

While at Lexington they went out to visit the famous Henry Clay, who lived about a mile and a half from the town. Of this visit Mr. Richmond writes:

Just such a house as you might expect him to reside in. Has about 20 negroes. Is supposed to have property. His sons, the elder, dissipated. He was out on his farm but soon came home. Received us politely. Talked a good deal about education. Considered it one advantage of the divisions among Christians that they are compelled

by emulation to found colleges, etc. This is the case with the Baptists. Said that he considered that there were some of the worst people morally and politically assembled in the city of New York. Told us his wife was an episcopalian, but that his father and most of his connexions were baptists. Mrs. C. had gone to the funeral of his mother, who died yesterday. Said we should see his only daughter Mrs. Irwin at New Orleans; and that he hoped we might strengthen some religious impressions of her's. I told him I was glad to hear him express himself in that manner. He said he was always glad when he heard any person was going to join any church. He valued religion for its *practical* influence. His conversation fluent, his manner good and affable. Upon the whole I was highly pleased.

Life on the Ohio and Mississippi was primitive in those days. There was much gambling and drinking. Schools and churches did not always exist in the settlements, but on the whole the population which was settling those regions was of good stock. Mr. Richmond thus describes the appearance and contents of a hut in the State of Missouri, at one of the wood stations along the river:

I examined the cabin more particularly. Although it did not look better externally than a New England hog pen of good size, yet there were two beds covered with white counterpanes, having curtains, etc. A shelf of books, History of America, Novels, etc., amounting to two hundred in all, I suppose; a certificate in a plain frame, of the first communion of the woman hung up, and other appearances of civilization.

The Indians, both the remains of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, whom he met at various towns along the Mississippi, and the Creeks, through whose territory

he passed, presented, according to his account, a very miserable appearance. In North Carolina the missionaries called on Bishop Ravenscroft, who was confined to his bed in his last illness. He "charged the Bishop against Foreign Missions" and "he charged me against my 'own proud and partial opinions.' " His attitude towards missions was one not uncommon in the Church at that time. Mr. Richmond spent some time in Washington, where he had a large acquaintance, including among others Daniel Webster and his family. He met and conversed with President Van Buren and other notables and officials of the government, attended a number of sessions of Senate and House, and talked with the party leaders. The trickery and unreality of the political life thus revealed to him, superficially at least, seems to have impressed him very unfavorably, and he writes: "I am more and more convinced that political life is detrimental to religion."

After his return to New York, in 1830, Mr. Richmond obtained a leave of absence of six months to go to Europe with a sick relative, but no record or notice of this journey, if he ever made it, has been preserved.

In 1831 the Church in New York began to wake up to the fact that it was entirely or almost entirely the church of the rich, and the City Mission Society was organized with Rev. Dr. Wainwright, rector of Grace Church, as president of the Executive Committee, for the purpose of establishing free churches, or rather free chapels for the use of people of the middle class who did not find themselves at home in the parish churches of that day. Mr. Richmond does not seem to have been an active member of this society, but on his own account he commenced at the same date a work of similar character. St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, of which he

was rector, was organized originally to provide for the needs of the poorer population in that village and was always different in character from the more aristocratic mother church, St. Michael's. After the erection of the church building, in 1826, the pews were ordered to be rented, but evidently the returns from these rentals were very meagre, the only recorded receipts from that source being \$53 in the year 1827. Now it was decided to abolish pew-rents altogether and turn St. Mary's into a free church, differing from those which the City Mission Society proposed to establish in that it was an incorporated and self-governing church society, while they were really chapels, not incorporated nor self-governing. In the year 1831, accordingly, the pew-rents were abolished and St. Mary's Church was made free, the first free church in New York city and apparently in this country. There are no records to show precisely what part Mr. Richmond played in this matter, but, judging from his general record of activity in establishing free churches, it may fairly be inferred that he was the prime mover in establishing this first of all free churches.

In 1831 Mr. Richmond originated another movement which was later to become of very great importance in the Church's life. The Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, a department of the New York Hospital, was built in Bloomingdale in the year 1821. Contemporary accounts describe it as the most completely equipped hospital for the insane in the world. But the knowledge of the treatment of the insane was still very backward. The modern theory of treating diseases of the mind like other diseases, providing humanizing entertainments, social intercourse and the like for the insane had not yet been propounded, and in this country,



GARRIT VAN HORNE HOUSE, MR. RICHMOND'S "RECTORY"

Rear View

FRONT VIEW OF SAME AFTER OPENING OF BOULEVARD AND 94TH STREET

certainly, no one had, up to this time, undertaken to hold religious services in institutions for the insane. Bloomingdale Asylum lay in Mr. Richmond's parish, and he was not willing that it should remain without the sphere of his ministrations. Apparently at his suggestion and instigation he was appointed chaplain, and began to hold religious services there, finally receiving, in 1833, the official appointment of chaplain to the Asylum. These services may be said to have been the germ of the Mission to Public Institutions in this city. In two of his Convention addresses Bishop Onderdonk, then Bishop of New York, refers to these services with great interest and high appreciation. Whenever he visited St. Michael's parish for the purpose of administering confirmation, Mr. Richmond took him out to see the Bloomingdale Asylum and to take part in the services. How novel they seemed at that day is clear from the Bishop's description of them in his Convention addresses.

As a result of the work of the City Mission Society already referred to, which had by that time established two or three free churches, in 1836 Bishop Onderdonk, in his Convention address and through the columns of the *Churchman* (June 1836) urged upon the clergy of New York action by the Church of New York as a whole and the establishment of further free churches for people of the middle class. This was something which appealed very strongly to Mr. Richmond. Accordingly in 1836 he asked and obtained from the vestries of St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Mary's the appointment of his brother, the Rev. James Cook Richmond, as his assistant, with right of succession in case of his death or resignation, in order that he might be more free to devote himself to building up the Church among

the middle and lower classes. With the approval of the Bishop Mr. Richmond undertook to form a free church at Euterpean Hall, 410 Broadway. According to the report presented to the Diocesan Convention of 1836, Rev. J. F. Fish, a deacon, officiated at this place in the morning and Mr. Richmond in the afternoon and evening. There were then seventy-six communicants, and a church was to be organized on lines set forth in the letter of the Bishop in the *Churchman* referred to above. The title given this new church, which was never, however, incorporated, was "The Episcopal Free Church of the Redemption."

At that time Zion Church contained within its parochial boundaries Five Points, then and until a much later period, the most vicious and miserable section of New York. For one cause or another Zion Church had lost a considerable portion of its supporting membership and was just entering upon that struggle for existence financially which was ultimately to result in the sale of the site and the removal of the parish to a more comfortable neighborhood, less in need of the Gospel. It had been running down for some years, so that whereas in 1834 it reported 120 baptisms and 39 marriages, in 1837 it reported but 39 baptisms and 12 marriages. But if, from the point of view of the self-supporting parish its position was becoming more difficult, from the point of view of the man interested in carrying the Gospel to the poor and needy, its position was singularly attractive. On the 21st of April, 1837, Rev. Thomas Breintnall, who had been rector since 1819, tendered his resignation. After some little delay, on August 9th of that year Mr. Richmond was called as rector and accepted the call, with the agreement that the large galleries of the church should be entirely

free and that all the members of his newly organized "Free Church of the Redemption" should be invited to Zion Church, and should be given those seats.

Zion now for a time became the centre of a very active missionary work. In the Diocesan Journal of 1838 Mr. Richmond reports the organization of "The Society for the Promotion of Christianity, which has visited 1600 families and distributed \$400 already in the 6th ward." Succeeding reports show a gradual falling off in this activity, which suggests that after the first enthusiasm missionary zeal was waning. Apparently Mr. Richmond had not felt altogether sure of the success of his experiment when he accepted the call to Zion, for he allowed himself to be continued as assistant minister at St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Mary's without salary, but with the provision that in case of James C. Richmond's death or resignation, he should again succeed to the rectorship.

In 1842 Mr. James C. Richmond became tired of parochial work and vacated the cures of St. Michael and St. James, and Mr. William Richmond was again called to become their rector. He accepted St. Michael's, with its dependency of St. Mary's Church, but declined to resume the charge of St. James's, inasmuch as he wished to continue his rectorship of Zion Church in order to prosecute mission work in the neighborhood of Five Points. So far as numbers were concerned, Zion was still very prosperous. In that year, 1842, 163 are reported as confirmed there, part of them, however, coming from the City Mission free churches of Epiphany and All Saints. Three years more Mr. Richmond continued his labors at Zion Church in connection with St. Michael's and St. Mary's. By the end of that time he seems to have concluded that it was

impossible to support this work in the manner he had contemplated. The church was not made a free church, as he had hoped at the outset that it would be, and he did not find among the membership of the church sufficient support for his missionary schemes. There appears, also, to have been a feeling on the part of the older element in the Church that the divided responsibility of Zion and St. Michael's was undesirable. Accordingly in 1845 Mr. Richmond resigned his charge of Zion, and returned definitely to St. Michael's church.

About this time a new work of church extension was developing in connection with that parish. In 1833 the Rev. James Cook Richmond, who was then studying for the ministry and unofficially assisting his brother, had started a Sunday-school among the colored people, of whom there were many at Yorkville and Seneca village, a miserable settlement of low whites and colored people, on the site of the reservoir in Central Park. In 1841 another theological student, Thomas McClure Peters, attracted by Mr. Richmond's reputation for missionary work, volunteered his assistance, and was assigned as a lay reader to St. Mary's, Manhattanville. In 1843 Mr. Peters went abroad for a couple of years. Returning to the seminary in 1845 he again volunteered to assist Mr. Richmond in his missionary work. In addition to St. Mary's he now took up the work which Mr. Richmond had already begun among the colored people at Yorkville, and Seneca village. Out of this work shortly grew All Angels' Church.

In 1847 Mr. Peters was ordained deacon, married Mr. Richmond's adopted daughter, and became officially his assistant. Mr. Peters had been very much influenced by the Tractarian movement and was one of a number of the clergy who were anxious to develop more fully the

forms and ordinances of the Church and especially to conform in the services and the administration of the sacraments more precisely to what appeared to them to be the requirements of the Prayer Book. Among other things they advocated the use of daily morning and evening prayer in church, according to the forms set forth in the Prayer Book. Mr. Richmond, who was not in sympathy with these ritualistic and High-Church tendencies, proposed to Mr. Peters that, instead of conducting daily morning and evening prayer at St. Michael's or St. Mary's, at which there would be few or no worshippers, they should each take daily as much time as would be required for those services and use it in mission work among the poorest classes of the population, visiting their homes and conducting services in the public institutions or in the poorest neighborhoods of the city. Following out this suggestion, they gradually extended their ministrations to institution after institution, enlisting others, both laymen and clergymen in the work, and finally organizing the Mission to Public Institutions, to which reference has already been made. In laying down the rectorship of Zion Church, Mr. Richmond had therefore not given up missionary work, but merely directed his energies into a different channel. As the City Mission Society with its free chapels had undertaken to reach the middle classes, so by the new Mission to Public Institutions Mr. Richmond and his colleagues attempted to reach a still lower class, the absolutely needy, the unfortunate, the criminals, and the paupers.

In 1849 Mrs. Richmond died of the cholera. At this time, owing to the discovery of gold in California, there was a great emigration to the Pacific slope, first to California itself, and then northward into Oregon. It

became necessary, accordingly, for the Church to send missionaries into that country. In 1850 the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society called for young men to go and establish the Church in Oregon, but there was no answer to the appeal. Then Mr. Richmond, who was now without domestic ties which bound him to the East, felt it to be his duty to answer the Church's call. Not certain whether this work would be permanent, or the mere temporary task of organizing the Church in the new territory for others to carry on, instead of resigning his cure at St. Michael's Mr. Richmond asked leave of absence for one year, Mr. Peters to take his place for that period. March 19, 1851, the Vestry of St. Michael's granted him, according to his request, leave of absence for "about a year to go to Oregon as missionary for the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions." He at once volunteered and was accepted.

A great missionary meeting was held in St. Bartholomew's Church, Sunday evening, March 23d, to bid him Godspeed, in which Bishop Chase of New Hampshire, Drs. Wainwright, Vinton, and Tyng and Rev. James C. Richmond took part. On this occasion Martin F. Tupper, having been requested on Saturday to prepare an ode, read the following:

FOR THE OREGON MISSION

Push on! to earth's extremest verge,—
And plant the Gospel there,
Till wide Pacific's angry surge
Is soothed by Christian pray'r;
Advance the standard, conquering van,
And urge the triumph on,
In zeal for God and love of man,
To distant Oregon!

Faint not, O soldier of the cross,
Its standard-bearer thou!
All California's gold is dross
To what thou winnest now!
A vast new realm, wherein to search
For truest treasure won,
God's jewels,—in his infant church
Of newborn Oregon.

Thou shalt not fail, thou shalt not fall!
The gracious living Word
Hath said of every land, that all
Shall glorify the Lord:
He shall be served from East to West,
Yea—to the setting sun,—
And Jesus' name be loved and blessed
In desert Oregon.

Then Brothers! help in this good deed,
And side with God to-day!
Stand by His servant now, to speed
His apostolic way:
Bethlehem's ever-leading star
In mercy guides him on
To light with holy fire from far
The Star of Oregon.

March 23, 1851.

According to the letter of instructions (*Spirit of Missions*, 1851, p. 215) issued to Mr. Richmond, dated March 26, 1851, his work was to be confined to the white settlers who were pouring into Oregon. He was to prospect, report on conditions, establish churches where possible, Sunday-schools where churches were not practicable, distribute the Prayer Book, encourage lay reading, and above all take up a claim of land and build a house which should be a mission centre,

a home for himself and other missionaries until parochial churches should be established. The particular portion of Oregon in which he was advised to work was the lower Willamette valley, a circle with a radius of twenty-five miles, including Portland, Milwaukie, Oregon City, etc. His work was not to be extended to the Indians, of whom there were many at that time in the country, such work being reserved for later consideration when the Church should have been established among the white settlers.

The trip to California in those days was a long and hard one by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Mr. Richmond has left quite an extended and interesting account of his journey across the peninsula and up the Pacific coast. He seems to have utilized his opportunities for missionary work wherever he went. On Sunday, the 13th of April, he performed morning service on board the United States sloop of war *Vincennes*, Captain Hudson, then lying at Tobago, and afterwards at the house of Captain Forbes. "After the service I presided at the organization of a Protestant Episcopal Church in the Island of Tobago." The church was called the Church of the Ascension. Wardens and vestrymen were elected and Captain Forbes, the senior warden, "stated his resolution to apply to the Foreign Committee of our port for a clergyman and to offer a salary of \$1500. . . . This is probably the *first* Protestant congregation ever organized in the republic of New Granada."

As this trip led Mr. Richmond into foreign parts, he was of course provided with a passport, bearing the signature of Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, which describes him as: "Five feet eight and a half inches in height with a broad forehead, hazel eyes,

prominent nose and chin, brown hair, dark complexion, round face and mouth of medium size." That he was a handsome man is testified by the recollections of those who knew him as well as by his pictures.

He left Panama for San Francisco on the 15th of April and was ill with Panama fever most of the journey. Nevertheless, he managed to take part in religious services which were held every day on board the steamer, bury one man at sea and marry a couple. They arrived at San Francisco on Monday morning, May 5th, just after that town had been destroyed by fire; but, fortunately, he found a steamer sailing for Portland, Oregon, on the following day. Reaching Portland, Oregon, Sunday, May 11th, by Wednesday, the 14th, he had gathered together the Episcopalians of that city and urged upon them the election on the following Sunday of wardens and vestrymen. Accordingly Sunday, May 18th, two wardens and eight vestrymen were elected and Trinity Church, Portland, organized, Mr. Richmond becoming its first rector. A week later, May 25th, he held his first service in Oregon City, and organized St. Paul's Church.

Mr. Richmond found in the territory one clergyman, Rev. St. Michael Fackler, who had come there from Missouri about four years before in search of health, and taken up a claim (640 acres) in Marion County near Oregon City, and who was cultivating the land and holding occasional services. With his assistance he organized, by June 23d, four churches, of two of which he took the rectorship, and of two, Mr. Fackler, subject to the approval of the Missionary Committee, to whom he recommended the appointment of Mr. Fackler as missionary, which was made. By December of that year he had organized six churches, the last being St.

John's, Milwaukie. Mr. Richmond also took up a claim of land in Yam Hill County and built a log house upon it. Life was very rough in Oregon in those days. Every one had to do his own work, whether it were building or cooking or sewing or tilling the land. Prices were exorbitant. The houses were log cabins, rougher than the roughest camp in which people spend the summer to-day. There were no roads and no bridges.

Loneliness and a craving for social intercourse are strikingly manifest in Mr. Richmond's letters to the Board of Missions, and soon his friends at home received a surprising piece of information. October 21, 1851, he was married to Miss Sarah Adelaide Adams, formerly governess in his brother James's family and later organist at St. Michael's, who had gone out to Oregon to do missionary work, especially of an educational character, about the time that he did. Their plan now was to establish a school, which they thought might ultimately grow into a college, on the claim which Mr. Richmond had taken up, making that, as proposed in the original letter of instructions, the centre and home of mission work in Oregon. The school was commenced with six scholars, March 16, 1852, but by that time Mr. Richmond was a sick man. On the 29th of February he had seriously exposed himself, riding all day in a deep snow and heavy storm, as a result of which he was taken ill and entirely incapacitated until the 12th of June, 1852. Under that date he writes to the Missionary Committee: "At the time I was stricken with sickness, I had a prospect of more success in my Mission than at any former period since I engaged in it." June 13th, although still far from well, he recommenced work. His preaching appoint-

ments at that date were as follows: "Portland, twice; Milwaukie, four times; Harris's Ferry, McKay's Prairie, Lafayette, Dayton and Milton, each once a month. His purpose was in the spring to visit the valley of the Umpqua, which he now intends doing in the autumn." Besides the girls' school and the prospect of a boys' school he had one young man studying for the ministry.

In spite of all his missionary enthusiasm, however, Mr. Richmond was at last forced to recognize that his health had suffered too severely to allow him to continue his mission, and in the autumn of that year he was compelled to resign and return to New York. The exact date of his return we do not know, but on March 14, 1853, according to the vestry records of St. Michael's Church, he was again officiating as rector of St. Michael's and St. Mary's. His health had been seriously affected by the exposure of the Oregon trip, and while he resumed his parochial duties and mission labors with his old time enthusiasm and aggressiveness, he soon found himself obliged to resign one work after another to his assistant and son-in-law, Mr. Peters. One very important institution, however, resulted from Mr. Richmond's labors in those last years of waning strength and failing health. Together with Mrs. Richmond, who proved herself a most zealous and effective missionary, he established the House of Mercy for fallen women. It was on this work that he bestowed his last strength and affection, and here he held daily prayer until compelled to take to his bed.

He died September 19, 1858. The record in the parish register reads:

Rev. William Richmond, Rector of this Church, was

buried in the Church-yard between the Porch and the Gate on the 21st of September, 1858. Died September 19 (Sunday) at quarter past one o'clock P.M. Aged sixty years, nine months, eight days. The funeral service was said by Dr. S. H. Turner, Dr. B. C. Cutler and Dr. Henry Anthon.

His gravestone now stands in the crypt, beneath the Chapel of the Angels. His remains lie beneath the present church, and his grave is marked by a brass plate in the floor, while a marble tablet on the neighboring pillar, erected by his grandson, William Richmond Peters, bears the inscription:

Near this column
Lie the mortal remains of
The Rev. William Richmond
Rector of this church
1820-1837, and 1842-1858.
He was distinguished for zeal and
missionary enterprise and has
left as his most abiding mon-
ument churches and charities
established by his labors.

His prayers and his alms are
gone up for a memorial unto God.

"Those who sleep in Jesus
God will bring with him."

Mrs. Richmond survived her husband seven years. The record of her wonderful work for fallen women and nameless children is contained elsewhere in this volume.

CHAPTER XI

FOURTH RECTOR

REV. JAMES COOK RICHMOND

1837-1842

REV. JAMES COOK RICHMOND, younger brother of the preceding, son of William Richmond and Clarissa Andrews, his wife, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, March 18, 1808. He was fitted for college at Phillips Exeter Academy and graduated from Harvard in 1828. He made a brilliant record as a scholar and was Hasty Pudding poet and class poet. He was an associate of Edward Everett Hale, Robert L. Winthrop, C. C. Felton and Oliver Wendell Holmes on the editorial board of the *Harvard Register* during his college career, and "The Rain Drop," printed in that magazine in December 1827, was set to music and became a popular song. In later life he wrote several poems which were published in book form: *The Country Schoolmaster in Love*, *A Midsummer's Day Dream* and *Metacomet*. After leaving college he studied in Germany in the Universities of Göttingen and Halle. In the latter university he attended lectures by Tholuck, the famous Bible scholar and commentator. From a letter to the *Church Journal* of New York, entitled "A Traveller's

Reminiscences: About the Greek, English and American Branches of the Holy Catholic Tree," published in 1863, I extract the following, which gives a good idea both of his studies in Europe and also of the religious point of view which he maintained in his later life:

But to come to experience. In 1828, having gone through the Arian course in Harvard, under good old Dr. Wall's pulpit teachings, I sought Germany; and in a year was made unhappy by the confusion confounded of rising German infidelity called falsely, like *Gnosis* of S. Paul, *Neology*. Thence I fled to Italy; read the then unanswered, but not confuted, "End of Controversy"; saw the Pope and Cardinals, and consulted and disputed much with Bishops and priests and deacons. I found that Latinism was not Catholicity. But after another year in Italy and France, I turned my pilgrimage towards the fountain head, and reached the land where S. Paul taught, and where the language of the New Testament is still spoken. There, *first*, the light began to dawn upon my darkness. Educated a New England Puritan, taught in a New Hampshire semi-Orthodox school, graduating at an Arian University, a student of Göttingen and Halle under infidel theological doctors, where every man is, or was, a Church for himself, with my poor young head broken to pieces, and all confused and miserable in this dream of contradictions, and I, still a poor pilgrim; looking for *teachers* in this DESERT OF DOUBTS, finding no Catholicity in Rome, I now stood at last upon Mars' Hill, and heard around me, from living men, the words of the tongue in which S. Paul had spoken. One thing came quickly and forever; and doubt fled on that theme. If (said I in my twilight) the good Baptists are thickest in my native Rhode Island, because Roger Williams planted them there in March, 1639 (though he gave it all up himself more than four years before he died); if the good Quakers abound where William Penn planted them; if the



REV. JAMES COOK RICHMOND
Fourth Rector, 1837-1842

doctrines of Confucius prevail in China, he being a Chinese philosopher; those of Zoroaster in Persia, and of Mohammed first in Arabia, for the same reason: *so, Episcopacy is still universal in the East, and the only way known to Oriental Christians*, and the only way they ever heard of, till a new way was brought from a new world:—I say, Episcopacy is here, *because the Lord and His Blessed Apostles planted it here! Ah! what is new is none.* Guided by this single thread I wound my way, I trust and hope forever, out of the whole Puritan labyrinth, in which poor *fragmentary* New England and daughters still blindly grope for the light in an everlasting endless “Suspense of Faith,” as Dr. Bellows tells us.

Then I began to talk with the Greek Priests and Bishops, and found *we might be one.* But the people in poor Greece had just emerged from a slavery of four-hundred years. With a learned and pious young Dane (now the Rev. Ferdinand Fenger, whom I have since visited in his own parsonage in Denmark, sat at table with his wife and eleven children, and heard his eloquence from his own pulpit) I walked through the Morea. I tried the children and the people and found not one boy of twelve years out of ten could read, not one school in ten villages, and in the tenth the teachers spelled the word school incorrectly, and not one woman in fifty could read. I formed a plan for America *to pay back the debt, and enlighten Greece.* Returning to Athens I found the Rev. Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hill had come in the interim; but of them and the Mission, I had never heard; for as I left America with doubts about the Holy Trinity, and doubts about everything else, I had not yet been baptized. I joined hands with them, the Missionaries, and when the hearts of their friends, even of the good Dr. Milnor, were beginning to fail, and the infant Mission was in danger of perishing, I hastened with Dr. Montgomery, of St. Stephen's Church, to Philadelphia, called a meeting, at which Bishop White presided, and Dr. Bedell and a host of the departed were present; did the same in New York, which Dr. Forbes reported in *The Churchman*; and then in

all the chief Northern cities; until Mrs. Hill wrote, "under God you have saved the Mission." And America *has paid back the debt; and has enlightened Greece*. In a lecture Charles Sumner declares the Greek schools to be now "*on a higher footing than our own*."

During his three or four years of study abroad, Mr. Richmond traveled, as will be seen, extensively. He possessed a peculiar facility for learning languages, and it was said at a later date that he could speak thirteen languages. Certainly he spoke German so fluently and understood it so thoroughly that he was able to preach in that language, not only correctly, but, if all reports are to be believed, eloquently. As a result of his special interests, of his method of travel and of his own personality, for he was a most striking man physically as well as intellectually, he enjoyed peculiar opportunities of meeting men of mark, visiting among others the great poet Goethe, then residing in his old age at Weimar. Leigh Hunt, who met him apparently at this time, was greatly attracted by him, and with facetious reference to his height used to call him his "little American."

The revolutionary movements in Central and Western Europe occurred during the period of his sojourn abroad, and with his temperament it was inevitable that he should interest himself in those events. He was fired with zeal for both Greek and Italian freedom. His imprudent utterances in regard to the latter brought him under suspicion of the tyrants of that day, and he was finally arrested by the Austrian government, charged with sedition, and underwent a brief imprisonment, before he was released through the intervention of his own government.

On his return to this country he was baptized by his

brother, the Rev. William Richmond. The record of his baptism, in the register of St. Michael's Church, is rather characteristic of the method of keeping records of both brothers. Under the year 1833, no nearer date being given, appears this entry:

James Cook Richmond was baptized by me some time since, but I neglected to insert his baptism at the time. He was born in Providence, R. I., son of William Richmond second and Clarissa his wife. Witnesses: Mrs. Sarah C. Richmond and Thomas Andrews Richmond.

James C. Richmond appears to have spent some time with his brother in New York, preparing for his ordination, and during this period he worked under him in the missionary work which the latter was undertaking. I find this record in William Richmond's handwriting: "A Sunday School was established by me in the village of Seneca, inhabited by colored people. The Rev. James Cook Richmond was the first teacher, before he was in orders." He was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese, including all New England except Connecticut, at St. John's Church, Providence, in 1832 and 1833 respectively. During the year of his diaconate he did missionary work in Maine under Bishop Griswold, founding at that time St. Mark's, Augusta. Shortly after his ordination as priest he went out to the missionary field of the northwest and was one of the three clergymen and six laymen who convened and organized the Diocese of Illinois in the city of Peoria, March 9, 1835, electing Bishop Philander Chase, formerly of Ohio, Bishop of of the new Diocese. Mr. Richmond was at that time rector of Christ Church, Rushville, Schuyler Co., and Grace Church, Beardstown, Morgan Co., Ill., and four

of the six lay delegates to the Convention represented those churches. In the following year we find him at St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Conn., from which he was called to be assistant minister to his brother, Rev. William Richmond, at St. Michael's, St. James's, St. Mary's, and St. Ann's, New York, to enable the latter, as narrated above, to undertake his free church enterprise. According to Mr. Richmond's report of 1836 to the Convention Journal, Rev. James C. Richmond was then officiating four times on Sunday and once during the week. In 1837, William Richmond having resigned the charge of St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Mary's, James C. Richmond became rector in his stead. (St. Ann's Church seems to have been abandoned at this time.) In his Convention report of that year, Rev. James C. Richmond notes that he "holds five services on Sundays in and around Bloomingdale;" that he officiates on Friday evenings at Yorkville and occasionally at St. Timothy's Church, the new German Church which had been started in the previous year. He also reports a great service in the German language, held in St. Michael's Church on Whitsun Monday of that year. In the following year, 1838, he reports that, with the assistance of Mr. Morris, the head of Trinity School, he is holding six services on Sunday, including one at the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum; that additional work is to be undertaken at Yorkville, and that St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, heretofore opened only in the evenings, is to be opened in the mornings also. In 1841 there is no report from Rev. James C. Richmond in the Convention Journal, although he is still rector of St. Michael's Church.

With the restlessness which characterized him, he had tired of parochial work and was planning a new mis-

sionary effort, growing out of his interest in the Greek Church—no less an enterprise than to bring about union, or rather communion between the Eastern Church and the American and Anglican Churches. On October 25, 1841, a leave of absence was granted him by the vestries of St. Michael's and St. James's until Easter of 1842, with the proviso that if he did not return by that date his failure to return was to be considered in itself as a resignation and William Richmond was again to become rector in his stead. I find no record of the details of this interesting mission on Rev. James Richmond's part. His zeal and enthusiasm did not inspire the confidence of the conservative Anglican leaders. The Archbishop of Canterbury called him a lunatic,¹ and he returned to this country in the early part of 1842, disappointed in his endeavors. Although in the country, he did not show himself at St. Michael's or St. James's by Easter Day. Under date of June 10, 1842, there is a minute in the Vestry records of St. Michael's Church that, "whereas Rev. James Richmond was in the country on Easter Day, 1842, but has not shown himself at church," therefore Rev. William Richmond is declared rector, in accordance with the terms of the leave of absence granted to Rev. James Richmond. The vestry of St. James's Church at about the same date writes to ask his intentions and receives a formal resignation.

¹ Mr. Richmond desired among other things "to preach the Gospel to the Turks, for whom the Church has been praying every year on all these Good Fridays past, but has never lifted a finger for their salvation." He went to Lambeth and laid his plans before the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace told Mr. Richmond that the Turks would behead any one who should go to Constantinople on such an errand. Mr. Richmond replied: "My head is ready."

Rev. James C. Richmond now became a general missionary in Rhode Island, where he founded Trinity Church, Pawtucket; St. James's Church, Greenville; Emmanuel Church, Manville; and Christ Church, Lonsdale. But his most characteristic and most famous work in Rhode Island, for which he is remembered to this day, was his preaching under the Catholic Oak at Lonsdale. In 1843, while going to Diamond Hill, where he was to preach, he passed a large oak tree, which stands now between Broad Street, Lonsdale, and the street leading to the railroad station, surrounded by a brick mill and tenement houses and by railroad tracks, but which at that time stood in the centre of a grassy field, its wide-spreading branches nearly reaching out to cover the grave of the Rev. William Blackstone, then dead nearly two centuries, its base encompassed by a sort of mound. Impressed by the appearance of the tree and the possibilities of open-air preaching, which had never been attempted in this country in the Episcopal Church at that time, Mr. Richmond stopped and examined the site, finally saying: "What a beautiful tree this is! I think I will hold services here next Sunday." He went at once into the residence of a neighbor, Mr. Ezra Kent, wrote his notice of the meeting, and placed it on a guide-board which was then located near the oak. The next Sunday, in full robes, he took his place between two huge roots which ran out from the tree on one side and formed a natural chancel. Young men and young women from Christ Church, Lonsdale, formed his choir. There are said to have been 600 and more persons in attendance. Farmers had driven from a long distance and some people came even from Providence to see this new marvel—an Episcopal preacher in full robes holding an out-of-door service. This serv-

ice Mr. Richmond called the dedication service of the temple, and the tree he named "The Catholic Oak," a name which became a household word to every one in the Blackstone valley. Persons were present who had never been induced to enter a church, and the occasion was a memorable one in the religious annals of Rhode Island. After that Mr. Richmond held services each month beneath this tree, preaching to large audiences who seemed willing and anxious to hear him, never mind how long he might preach to them. Men who never went inside the doors of a church were always ready to "hear Richmond preach." After he had maintained these services several months, he was sent to another part of the Diocese, but each year on Whitsunday he came back to preach under the Catholic Oak until 1847, when he went to Europe. On his return to this country, in 1851, he preached for the last time under the branches of the old oak and this apparently was the last religious service ever held there. Thirty-seven years after his death, on the Sunday after Ascension, May 24, 1903, a brass plate was put on the stump of a sawed-off branch of the Catholic Oak with this inscription: "Under this oak preached the Rev. James Cook Richmond, defender of the faith," and the old tree was surrounded by an iron railing to protect it from harm.

As defender of the faith Mr. Richmond was keenly interested in the struggle which began in New York shortly before he left that Diocese between High and Low, and which waged around Bishop Onderdonk's trial, moral and ecclesiastical issues being almost hopelessly confused. Although a High-Churchman his outraged moral sense caused him to take an active part against the Bishop. To the controversy which ensued he con-

tributed *The Conspiracy against the Bishop of New York in the Laugh of a Layman*, published in 1845, and an introduction and notes to Pott and Wainwright's *No Church without a Bishop*.

Mr. Richmond was a thorough believer in free churches and wherever he went his endeavor was to organize a church of the people. So at Pawtucket it was a free church which he organized in 1845, becoming its rector without salary, throwing himself upon the offerings of the people for his support. Two years later, August 30, 1847, he held a memorable service, in which, with his own hands, he broke ground and devoted the spot on which the church now stands to the erection of the sacred edifice. With that day's service Mr. Richmond's connection with Trinity Church terminated. He was a man of a very nervous temperament and his mind, highly organized, had become unstrung by its own ceaseless activity.

He could not brook opposition. He must have loose rein or he could not work. He felt too much hampered by the restraints and limitations of a parochial charge. In Trinity Church, Pawtucket, the wardens could not hold him back. He was peculiarly interested in what he termed "Missions at large," and insisted on holding services and making efforts to create an interest in the church and thus leading to its permanent creation in places where it had been hitherto unknown. This he felt was the work for which he was specially needed. After officiating at a place for some time he would apply to his Bishop to send some one else to take up the work for it was time for him to go somewhere else. Diamond Hill, Spragueville, Crompton, Burrillville, Chepatchet and Greenville were among the places in which he labored. He thought "Trinity Church, Pawtucket, Mass., promised to be the most prosperous of all."¹

¹From an address on the occasion of placing the tablet in memory

It was very difficult with Mr. Richmond to determine whether or when his peculiar genius passed beyond the limits of sanity. An obituary in the Boston *Advertiser* at the time of his death speaks of him as "distinguished for his originality, learning and eccentricity, but his peculiarities caused him to be looked upon sometimes as insane." His often startling actions, his vehement controversies and at times his personal denunciations (sometimes in preaching he would leave the pulpit and come down into the aisle of the church, that he might speak more directly to those for whom he felt he had a message) of those whom he counted evil-doers or recreants to the faith, led not a few to question his sanity. But Bishop Clark, who on another occasion styled him an "encyclopædia," because of his astonishing scope and accuracy of information, when asked if he thought Mr. Richmond was insane, replied: "No, sir, surely not, but it is hard to distinguish the difference between a man of high genius and one who is insane."

As rest and change were absolutely essential to his recovery of balance, Mr. Richmond went abroad, as already narrated, returning to this country in 1851. During this period he visited the Holy Land with Dr. afterwards Bishop Wainwright, with whom he collaborated in the narrative and descriptive work *Pathways and Abiding Places of Our Lord*, Dr. Wainwright also dedicating to him, out of gratitude for his assistance, another work, *Land of Bondage*. This was the period of the great revolution in Europe. Mr. Richmond was stirred by this uprising, and especially by the Hungarian struggle for freedom. He made the ac-

of Rev. James Cook Richmond on the Catholic Oak, and the Semi-Centennial services of Trinity Church, Pawtucket, which grew out of Mr. Richmond's preaching beneath that tree.

quaintance of Kossuth and later was instrumental in introducing him to this country. In England the Ecclesiastical revolutionists attracted him and he became an intimate of Pusey, Newman, and the Oxford group. In an article in the *Liverpool Courier* at the time of his return to America, describing his preaching in England, where he delivered lectures and preached both in English and in German, interesting himself among other things in advocating the cause of educational and benevolent institutions, the writer speaks of his remarkable eloquence, unhesitatingly placing him in the very first rank of living preachers. During this trip Mr. Richmond published at Glasgow *A Visit to Iona*, and at London his Indian poem, *Metacomet*, already mentioned. On his return to this country he published *The Rhode Island Cottage*, a true narrative of the sorrows and religious experiences of a sorely afflicted family named Taggart, living on Rhode Island proper, almost opposite the Richmond homestead at Little Compton. The story was so pathetic and so touchingly told that the little book reached its fifth thousand before the close of 1851, and one result of this publication was the erection and endowment of a church at that place.

Mr. Richmond visited Europe again the next year or the year after and was in Greece in 1853. After his final return to this country he went west and took charge as rector of St. Paul's Church, Milwaukee. Among his friends and parishioners there was the late U. S. Senator Matthew H. Carpenter. An address which the latter delivered at a meeting in St. Paul's Church, shortly after the death of Mr. Richmond, in 1866, gives such an admirable picture of the man, his personality, his doctrinal views, and the character of

his preaching that I need make no apology for quoting it in some detail:

No man ever assailed his orthodoxy. He believed most thoroughly, conscientiously, that the faith of the church to which he belonged was the faith once delivered to the saints, and the duty of contending, *striving* for the gospel, was with him no figure of speech. The divinity of Jesus, he believed to be the corner stone of the faith; and moreover he believed this to be the doctrine most assailed in our time. Against all such assailants he levelled his heaviest guns; he reasoned, argued, declaimed, denounced; not always in the most amiable style, but always in the warmest zeal, against all doubt upon this cardinal point. There was nothing that so often occupied his thoughts, nothing that so warmed the combativeness of his nature, and aroused the antagonism of his soul as this; and we who so often heard him can never forget his zeal, and the very great ability with which he always treated this grand and lofty theme. He was a stickler for all the services and ceremonies of the church; he believed all had been ordained in wisdom, for our good, and that even the minutest particulars ought rigidly to be obeyed. He was obedient to the etiquette of the Priesthood. With what unaffected reverence he always spoke of our venerable Bishop! Bishops in his belief had as absolute control over the subordinate priesthood, as a general over his soldiers. The subordinate might approve or disapprove, rejoice or regret, but must obey. The Bishop, he taught us, was an officer divinely commissioned in the church; the Vice Gerent of Christ, the Shepherd of our Souls. From him we must receive instruction, from him we must seek Confirmation. Though he did tell us, while the cradle of this church was being rocked in some discord of contention, that, if we were true believers, had been baptized in the church and confirmed by the Bishop, we could go to Heaven without the consent of the General Convention of Wisconsin. *And I believe he knew.*

But his manner, his gestures, his eloquence, who can describe? And who that has witnessed, can ever forget them?

He was tall, raw-boned, with a haggard look, and in social life was extremely awkward; but when the abrupt and angular motions of his arms and body were disguised with robes, he seemed the personification of majesty. With what dignity of action he approached the altar. His manner was so impressive that I never wondered very much at the excited and susceptible little girl, who, the first time she ever attended any church, saw Father Richmond robed and entering the chancel; and when he opened the prayer book, and read in his authoritative style: "The Lord is in His holy temple, let all the earth—keep *silence*—before Him," turned to her mother, and, in a whisper, asked, "is that God, mamma?" His lofty bearing, his careworn, haggard visage, his solemn, penetrating, awe inspiring voice, his clear articulation, his majestic and expressive accent, made you feel, in a moment, that you were in the presence of a master. Considering the service as a mere human composition, and tested by the usual canons of rhetoric, I have heard it read better by other men. But regarded as a *service for a universal church*; as a medium of communication between the heart of man and the Jehovah of the universe; as an utterance of exultant glowing praise, or the shriek of a soul writhing in the anguish of almost annihilating penitence, he is the only man I ever heard read it in a manner worthy of its high design. He would read the same psalms or prayers under a thousand different circumstances, and make you feel that they must have been composed for each particular occasion. His style both of reading and speaking, conformed to no system, was built upon no model, that I know of. It was his own, a part of himself, a heaven-sent gift. He imitated no man,—no man could imitate him. . . .

The lessons, interrupted by explanations and comments from the fulness of his knowledge of the history, geography

and topography of the holy land, its hills and valleys, its caves and grottos, its fields and gardens, seemed always like a letter from some high-toned poetical friend.

In taking up the collections, in the beginning of the offertory, when he *repeated* (for he knew the service by heart, and though he held the book for form's sake, he read nothing) after a great sermon:

"If we have sown unto you spiritual things—is it a *great matter*—if we shall reap your—*worldly* things?"

And on receiving the offerings:

"He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord; and look! (holding up the plates) what he layeth out it shall be paid *him* again,"

The effect was magical—you could almost feel the greenbacks trying to move from your pocket.

What life, what soul, what vigor, what beauty, his wondrous power would throw into the Epistles of Paul. Had he belonged to the Church of Rome, he would have prayed to Paul. He did almost worship his conception of that mighty master. Any man acquainted with Richmond would know that Paul, of all the human characters of the Bible, would have been his favorite. His labors, his struggles, his trials and sufferings. . . .

There were incidents in the life of Richmond, that would have seemed to a mind less tinged than his was, with that "melancholy madness" that is one step above genius, to bear some resemblance to the trials and contentions of Paul. Richmond believed there were times when it is as much the duty of a Christian to fight as to pray. On one occasion, certain persons disliking Mr. Richmond, changed the locks on the doors of this church, and bolted and barred it against RICHMOND, THE RECTOR!!! He assembled his congregation outside the church, men, women and children, and kneeling among them upon the wet ground he prayed, and then, to use his own language, he directed a battering ram against the door; "the door *went down*, and he *came in*." He afterwards stated, on

oath, that he never performed any act of religious duty from higher or purer motives, or more free from anger or passion.¹

But the manifestation of his real greatness, was in his preaching. He did not believe that "the foolishness of preaching" meant foolish preaching. He always spoke without notes. He opened his little Greek testament, read his text by translation from the original; gave a clear and always interesting description of the circumstances under which the text was spoken or written; gave its connection with the context, and then proceeded, "Rejoicing like a strong man to run a race," into the doctrine and philosophy of his subject. . . .

Father Richmond's was the analytical method. He had great contempt for mere rhetoric, and held it altogether unsuitable to the desk. The priest had to deal with men, earnestly, in and about the most solemn and important concerns of the soul. Religious belief and faith must be bottomed upon facts, truths; the hearer must not only be induced to yield assent, but he must be convinced; it was of no consequence whether he was pleased or displeased, so he was, even in spite of himself, if need be, convicted and convinced. The reason must be satisfied, or religion would be a mere emotion, and soon wither and die. This result, this convincing of the intellects of men, could only be accomplished by patient, plodding, laborious arguments, reasons, proofs; and so he set about his tasks. The first ten

¹ "In Milwaukee he was universally known as Father Richmond and was, I am told, the first to work among the poor who retained a vivid and affectionate recollection of him. He insisted that they should come and be welcome in the pew-owned or rented St. Paul's and his sermon 'Tell John . . . and the poor have the gospel preached to them,' in which he told the rich that the poor were coming into that church, was the occasion of locking him out, as above described. A man who was present told me that he repeated the last clause 'the poor have the gospel preached to them, and then, rising on his toes, looked round silently for the poor . . . then exclaimed: 'Where are they?' . . . then thundered: 'You have driven them out,' and proceeded with great

minutes of a sermon were occupied with short sentences; the foundations of his arguments were slowly and carefully laid, and the structure of his theory arose upon it as regularly, and stood as firmly and was as plainly seen, as a marble palace upon its foundations. The beauties of his sermons were beauties of proportion, symmetry, adaptation, not artificial ornaments and figures of speech. So that by the time he began to grow excited, when his eye began to blaze, and his cheek to grow pale, when he began to roll the thunders and dart the lightnings of his genius; you had been prepared for it; he had raised you up, had made you ashamed of the littleness of this world, and for the hour at least, he had stilled its ambition, its jealousy, its animosities; he had magnetized and inspired you; and speaker and hearer seemed to rise together into a clearer air and a higher life.

This result attests eloquence in its highest development. You were not carried off in a balloon of rhetoric, or on a cloud of rainbow beauties; but you had gone with him, step by step, up the mountain side, you knew every foot of the ascent, and you could look where he pointed, far above the petty pursuits of life, to the pinnacles of faith and duty.

Fine speaking, artful rhetoric, what the world accepts as oratory, are poor contemptible things, when compared with the eloquence Richmond possessed and constantly

vehemence to bring the accusation home to the consciences of his hearers. As a result the vestry undertook to exclude him from the church in the manner narrated above. When Mr. Richmond undertook to break the door in on Sunday morning, using a timber which was lying near by as a battering ram, it is narrated that it was done to the Invocation: 'In the name of the Father'(bang) 'and of the Son'(bang) 'and of the Holy Ghost'(bang), and the door was driven in. He considered it a religious service and this Invocation incident was long famous in Milwaukee. The vestry took the matter into court and the court sustained the rector's right to enter his church and preach when he pleased." (From a private letter.) Later Mr. Richmond resigned the rectorship of St. Paul's and started All Saints' Church, Milwaukee, that he might have greater freedom to preach the Gospel to the poor.

practiced. He looked, as I have said, with contempt upon mere tricks of speech. I shall never forget the roguish look, with which in a sermon, he turned his gaze upon several lawyers present, and informed them that Mercury was the god of orators *and thieves*.

One remarkable effect of his preaching was that while you were perfectly delighted, it was with his subject entirely, and not with what he said; his language was but the medium through which the minds of his hearers seemed to catch glimpses of immortal things; as, when you look through a telescope, you see the star, but never think of the glass. It was only when the sermon was ended, and you walked out into the common air and encountered common things, and his great thoughts began to fade gradually from your memory, as the headlands "recede and disappear" when, on the ocean's bosom, you bid your "Native land, Good night."—then it was, that you began to think of Richmond, and that wondrous speech that had lifted you so above the littleness of common thoughts.

He was at times fearfully personal. Some men whom he believed to be great rascals, in high confidence of their wealth and social and political standing, writhed beneath his pointed denunciations for a while, but soon sought easier seats in other churches. One such sermon we all remember.—There was awful fluttering among his birds; and clamorous complaints of his personalities were made to him. The next Sunday, he rose to preach, and read his text :

"And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables," etc.

"Brethren," said he, "I hear that the sermon I preached last Sunday has been objected to, that it was too pointed and personal. I have selected this text, as an instance in the life of the Savior, of *somewhat pointed preaching*." He then went on, applying his scourge, until I believe all

were convinced that his *former* sermon was not as personal as it *might have been*.

I cannot close without *reminding* you how sublimely he celebrated the ordinances and sacraments of the church. I can only remind you of it; no tongue could describe it. If you have seen him by the sick bed of your dying children, as I saw him beside mine, in the very ante-chamber of death, baptizing little innocents, who were just fluttering like stray angels, wandered unawares from the pearly gate, and longing to return, as loth to remain in this sin stricken, wretched world; if you have seen him stretching out his arms repeating the solemn service, "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign her with the sign of the cross"; if you have clung to him for consolation when your wife and children, in the chamber of another dying child, were trembling and crying around you, and your own heart strings were breaking with grief; if you have gone with him, been led, sustained and supported by him to the grave of some dear one, gone before you; if you have heard from him, "*I am the resurrection and the life*," and "Whoso believeth in me though he were dead yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall *never* die"; and, then, those dreadful words, that ring in your ears like the knell of last hopes while your heart is dissolving with sorrow: "*Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust*"; if you have followed him through such scenes, then cherish the memory of them in your hearts, you will never know the like again.

One of Mr. Richmond's sermons of this period was published in Milwaukee, under the title *The Palm Sunday Sermon*, and reached a third edition in 1859.

It was inevitable that a man of Mr. Richmond's temperament should be deeply stirred by the Civil War. His "American Hymn," which he entitled *A Chant for the Contest, Constitution, Country and Continent*

shows the fervor of his zeal for the nation and for liberty:

I

Ho for the Westward! Lengthen the border!
Listen, thou earth, to the fiat of God:
Angels exulting, hearken, while Order
Springs, as the serpent sprang from the rod
Held by the son of Amram, the day
When God, through the Sea, hewed Israel's way:

CHORUS:

Ho for the Westward! kindle the chorus,
God's Fiery Pillar flames right before us.

II

Ho for the Westward, nestled in wonders,
Law, like an EAGLE, looked on the world,
Bounded, full grown, from Sinai in thunders,
Fluttered o'er Greece like a banner half furled,
Eyried a season in old iron Rome,
Flew over Europe, westward for home.

CHORUS:

Ho for the Westward! thunder the chorus,
God's ROYAL EAGLE soars right before us.

III

Ho for the Westward! Herald the war-cry!
Who shall resist the TRUMPET of God?
Tyrants, Columbia's fall is a far-cry!
Freedom, ye despots, now wields the rod:
Strike off the fetters, lay down your rod,
Four millions of bond-slaves are Freed-men of God!

CHORUS:

Ho for the Westward! herald the story,
God's clarion TRUMPET rings out before ye.

IV

Ho for the Westward! Strengthen the border!

CHRIST AND HIS CROSS! THOU BANNER OF GOD!

Now on the Chaos God stampeth Order,

For Jesus is Truth, to rebels a rod!

STARS FOUR AND THIRTY, ORDER AND LAWS!

STAR SPANGLED BANNER, CHRIST AND THE CROSS.

CHORUS:

Ho for the Westward! TRUMPET the story,

PILLAR and EAGLE, GOD'S BANNER o'er ye!

In 1861 Mr. Richmond went to the field with the Second Wisconsin Regiment as chaplain, telling his friends before he went that he had "a presentiment that I shall never return to the little church again; a presentiment that I shall never return at all. I am not very prudent. I may be killed in battle. I may die of disease. If so, let my friends meet in the little church and pray and speak of me just as I was. Tell them I had great faults, but tell them that I loved them and labored and longed for their salvation." As he foresaw, he did not return. The excitement proved too much for him, and, after another nervous breakdown, he retired from the active life of preaching to a farm which he owned at Poughkeepsie where his family had been living for some years. Here he was murdered by an angry farmhand with a fancied grievance on July 20, 1866.

Mr. Richmond was married June 4, 1835, to Sarah Seaton, daughter of Henry Seaton of Santa Cruz, by whom he had six children, four daughters and two sons, of whom two survive. Three of his children were long members of this parish. The eldest daughter, Sarah Seaton, an invaluable worker, was for over thirty-

six years superintendent of the Sheltering Arms. She was also an active member of St. Michael's branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions and represented the parish in various capacities in benevolent and missionary work. She died December 21, 1906, and was succeeded in her position as superintendent of the Sheltering Arms by another sister, Katharine Seaton, who had been, since its foundation, the head of the Furniss cottage of that institution. Mr. Richmond's eldest son, Henry Seaton, died in his infancy. His second son and youngest child, William, is a priest of the Church and was for twenty years rector of All Saints' Church, Orange, N. J.

There are several memorials of Rev. James Cook Richmond in the various churches with which he was connected. In St. Michael's Church he is commemorated by a Credence in the form of a niche, decorated by mosaics and bearing the inscription:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD. IN MEMORY OF
JAMES COOK RICHMOND, PRIEST.
RECTOR 1837-1842.

This was presented to the church by his family. Another memorial, connected in a sense with this church, appropriate to his missionary zeal and activities, is the James Cook Richmond scholarship at Cape Mount, Liberia. Each year on Whitsunday for many years the children of the Sheltering Arms have presented in St. Michael's Church an annual contribution which goes to support this scholarship in Mr. Richmond's name.



REV. THOMAS MCCLURE PETERS, S.T.D.
Fifth Rector, 1858-1893

CHAPTER XII

FIFTH RECTOR

REV. THOMAS MCCLURE PETERS

1858-1893.

LIKE his two predecessors, Dr. Peters was of New England origin and birth. He was born "in an old wooden house in High Street, Boston, Mass., June 6, 1821, in the night, towards morning," the second son and third child of Edward Dyer Peters, originally of Blue Hill, Me., a well-known lumber and commission merchant of Boston. He was sixth in the line of descent from Andrew Peters, who came to Boston about the middle of the seventeenth century, and died at Andover, Mass., December 13, 1713. His mother was Lucretia McClure, of a Scotch-Irish family which came to Boston from the neighborhood of Londonderry, Ireland, in 1729, part of a colony of religious immigrants who founded the Presbyterian Church in Federal Street, Boston. Thomas Peters's ancestors were not in any sense famous men. On the other hand, each and every one of them on the Peters side was a good citizen, active and useful in Church and State and successful in affairs. His McClure ancestors were distinctly religious men, all of them on this side of the water being deacons in the Federal Street Church,

while two of his uncles were Congregational ministers.

It was the Unitarian movement which brought the Peters family into the Episcopal Church. When Dr. Channing, the pastor of the Federal Street Church, turned Unitarian, Deacon Thomas McClure, after whom his grandson, the subject of this sketch was named, unable to agree with his pastor's unorthodox position, resigned his office of deacon, gave up his pew and removed to the Park Street Church. His daughter Lucretia and her husband, Edward Dyer Peters, who were fellow attendants with him at the Federal Street Church, were attracted by the character and preaching of Alonzo Potter, who had recently come to St. Paul's Church, Boston, and took a pew there. And here Mr. Peters, who, as was frequently the case with Congregationalists, had not been baptized in his infancy, was baptized with four of his children, including Thomas, on April 6, 1827, and the whole family entered the Church.

During Peters's infancy the family lived at No. 12 Rowe Street, the Brooks and Evarts families living in the same street. Between the ages of seven and eleven years Peters attended the Chauncey Hall School, of which he says that it was "the best school for instructing the children in English that I have ever had any knowledge of." There he came to the front in arithmetic and also obtained the title "Honest Tom," for which, however, he suffered severely. He narrates how

the teacher of mathematics on more than one occasion on leaving his classroom and returning found it noisy. His question would be: "Tom, who has been talking?" Reply: "I have, sir."—"Anybody else?"—"Yes, sir,"—"Who?"—"I can't tell." The old ruffian would then

take me by the ear and drag me about the room, insisting that I should tell him, which I never did.

His later characteristics seem to have shown themselves distinctly at this early period. He writes:

I had always a spirit rebellious against injustice, and refused to submit to undeserved punishment. I had always a wretched hand-writing, much to Mr. Thayer's chagrin. One day he set out to whip me for not writing better, and sent me into a little room, called an office, where he was in the habit of punishing boys at his leisure. After school he came into the office and told me to hold out my hand, intending to strike the palm with a ruler. I told him he had no right to whip me for what I could not help, and thrust my hands into my pockets. He then hit me with his ruler wherever he could, and dismissed me. As I went out I said to him: "I won't do anything the better for you, old Thayer," and ran off. His way home lay past our door, and he went in, pretending to be dreadfully grieved at my behaviour. As Mother wished to please him, she made me carry him a dish of strawberries and cream the next morning, which I most unwillingly handed him. No other discipline followed. Mr. Thayer tried hard to make an orator of me for his public exhibitions, and one time tried to drill me on Cowper's "Address to his Mother's Picture," a small profile in a frame being placed in my hand to be apostrophized. The orator was not there, and he gave it up.

One of his brothers, not long after his death, thus described his characteristics in a letter to the writer:

Thomas had one characteristic which commenced in his earliest days and lasted until he died. It was his great energy and determination. I never knew him to commence anything that he did not succeed in finishing, and in the very best manner. When he was a boy, and a scholar at St. Paul's Sunday School in Boston, he accepted a position as librarian of the school. The library was then in

a very bad condition, the books were very dirty and worn, and many books taken out before he commenced had not been returned. He at once called upon every one who had any books that had been taken out beyond the usual time to return them, and every Sunday he carried large quantities of books home and evenings during the week covered them all neatly with thick paper, and wrote the name of each book on the back, and continued to do so until he had them all covered. Then every one that took books out—he took the name of the boy and the book, and required them to be returned the next Sunday, or to let him know the reason why. The Sunday School Superintendent said they never had before a librarian that would compare with him. I never knew him to tell a lie; and, if asked a question by the teachers or his parents, he would always answer truly, or else he would not answer at all, and no threats or abuse by any one could ever make him answer if it would implicate any one else; but if he had transgressed any law of the school himself, he would always answer *and tell the truth*. He was the most conscientious person I ever saw, and had a keen sense of right and wrong.

After leaving Mr. Thayer's school, Peters, at the age of eleven, went to the famous Boston Latin School, where the Hon. William E. Evarts and the late Rev. E. A. Washburn of Calvary Church were among his schoolmates, the latter one of his life-long and most intimate friends. He writes of himself that he ranked low in Latin and Greek departments. Stood at the head in English, especially mathematics. Left that school in this wise: Dillaway, the Head, demanded of me a composition to be written on Saturday afternoon, our half-holiday, to atone for marks for talking. I did not consider that he had any control over my holiday, and refused to write it. He then set out to thrash me, and ordered me into an unused room. I refused to submit, and prepared for a struggle, upon which he left me and promised

me that I should have my whipping after school. Thinking that he proposed to delegate Mr. Gardner, a large and strong usher, for the purpose, I concluded to absent myself. Not daring to go home, I started on a walk into the country. At night I stopped at a farmhouse and asked to be allowed to sleep on the hay in the barn. The people took me in and gave me good cheer and the best bed. Started next morning for Framingham. A railroad surveyor overtook me, gave me a nice dinner at his table and a ticket to Worcester.

What the ending of this episode was, and the method in which Peters was finally brought back to Boston, I have been unable to ascertain. I only know that he was gone two or three days and that on his return he was not sent back to the Latin School, but finished his preparation for college in the private schools of Mr. Leverett (editor of the Latin dictionary) and Mr. Hubbard.

The home life of the family was a happy one, particularly for Thomas. He was beloved by every member of the family, and his relations to each and all his brothers and sisters continued intimate and affectionate until death. To the end of his life it was his custom to spend every Thanksgiving at the old homestead, a title which the family applied to Mr. E. D. Peters's country home at Jamaica Plains, now part of Boston, sometimes taking one or more of his children with him. He was especially devoted to his eldest sister and his mother, a woman of a strong and very noble character, to whom the son was much indebted for the spiritual and intellectual side of his nature. The relations between the two were always most affectionate, his mother's correspondence with him during his college life and afterwards to the day of her death revealing

the most intimate and tender relations. His father was a man much immersed in business and in the nature of the case less close to his children in their spiritual and mental growth than the mother. Outside of his business his interests were not broad; but he was a man of strong character, high integrity, charitable, religious, devoted to his family and a good father to his children. He died a wealthy man, but to the day of his death he seems to have been worried about his finances and esteemed himself in danger of poverty. He always lived simply and the manner of life of the family was such as would be considered to-day narrow and restricted. The theatre, dancing, balls, or even dinner parties were things unknown, and social relations were of the simplest. Mrs. Peters seems to have had a natural love of the beautiful which displayed itself always in a love of flowers and the beauties of nature, and later in life, after she began to travel, both in this country and abroad, in art and literature also. But the life of the Peters household during Thomas's boyhood, as far as art and literature were concerned, was bare and narrow, the principal mental recreations of which we hear being lectures and sermons. Both parents also loved simple religious poetry, especially that of Cowper, after whom they named one of their sons. But if the home and social life were narrow and provincial, they were at the same time sound, wholesome, and refined.

Of his religious impressions as a child Peters writes:

I went to church assiduously as a matter of course twice, and to Sunday School at Grace and St. Paul's Churches three times a Sunday. I was always resolving to be a better boy, but do not remember any distinct religious impressions. I always took part in the service, and then

during the sermon laid down my head and went to sleep. I do not believe I revered the clergy much, for at St. Paul's, in the Sunday School, I nicknamed Dr. Stone "Cephas" and always so spoke of him.

The religious life of the family was of the Puritanical stamp characteristic of the period. There was a rigid observance of Sunday, under the old Jewish name of the Sabbath, but in a method not Jewish but evolved by the Puritans of the seventeenth century. The Sabbath began on Saturday evening. At sundown on that day books and games were put away; but at sundown on Sunday the Sabbath had come to an end and the children were set to prepare their tasks for the following day. Every Sunday morning, rain or shine, Mr. Peters went with his wife and children to St. Paul's Church, but in the evening of almost every Sunday they attended service at a church of some other denomination, particularly the Methodist or Baptist, to which, and especially the Methodist, Mr. and Mrs. Peters felt attracted on account of their enthusiasm. It was the period of the Evangelical revival and the Peters family felt its influence.

Thomas was the only one of the boys who desired to study for a learned profession. In 1837, at the age of sixteen, he was sent to Yale College, for orthodox boys in those days were not sent to Harvard, and the Peters family were all orthodox. Peters's principal out-of-door amusement at college, as throughout life, was walking. Sometimes with one or two or more comrades, but more often alone, he took long tramps over the hills and through the beautiful country around New Haven. On these tramps he usually carried with him small pocket editions of English and classical authors. I have Cowper, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Young's *Night*

Thoughts, Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, a Horace and a Homer's *Iliad*, which bear evidences of use in this manner. He was also fond of horseback-riding (to which in later life he added driving a good horse or horses), and much given to swimming, especially in the night. He seems to have seen little of college scrapes and escapades. He had few intimate friends in college, but that he was fond of his classmates and always cherished the memories of his college life is shown by his constant attendance through life at class meetings and the pleasant relations which he maintained with not a few of his former classmates. A letter from one of these gives a pleasing picture of their relations in college days, and an amusingly characteristic glimpse of Peters:

Now, Thomas, the thought of you has brought back that wood fire and those shag barks and led me to talk as merrily as though you were sitting by cracking your nuts and jokes until some sober reflection led you to utter a little sage advice in a sudden and unexpected manner. I hope that ere this you have learned to laugh properly, without agitating your nether system silently for several minutes, and when others had forgotten the witticism suffering your mirth to escape in sundry singular cachinations.

Through his college course Peters was still under the influence of the strict Puritanical ideas of his earlier training. He is horrified to hear of the popularity which theatrical representations are attaining in Boston and rejoices that the Connecticut law forbids theatres. Nevertheless his father and mother and elder sister are always fearful lest he fall into laxness under the temptations which surround him. His father, in one of his letters, objects to his practice of writing on Sunday, which he believes to be a desecration of the

holiness of that day, and at another time Thomas is compelled to defend his purpose of reading Gibbon, which his parents fear may undermine his belief. His letters frequently make reference to his reading. He admires Young's *Night Thoughts*, Jane Austen's novels, which he prefers to Scott, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Lamb's *Life and Letters*, Prescott, and Irving. He also frequently refers to printed sermons read by him. That was the day of lecturing and he makes frequent reference to the delight of attending lectures—John Quincy Adams, Bushnell, Pierpont, Shepard on "Conchology," Dana, the Boston poet, and so forth. A lecture by the last named on "Women" impresses him very favorably, inasmuch as Dana's ideas agreed with his own. Extremely conservative are the sentiments which he expresses in the letters of those days in comparison with the liberal and progressive attitude of his later years.

In his Senior year the question of the choice of a profession came to the front. His point of view in this matter was very high and profoundly religious in the best sense of that word. He felt a desire to choose the profession in which he could do most good, not that which was pleasantest or most remunerative. This he supposes to be each person's duty in life, but no one is compelled to choose that for which he feels an active aversion. "I think I should make a pretty good doctor," he writes to his mother, "but fear I should make but a sorry preacher. What thinkest thou?" Accordingly he began to make experiments with a view to becoming a doctor, but he was almost finicky in his aversion to dirt and to touching any unpleasant and unclean thing, and after some conscientious and practical investigation he finally concluded, shortly before his

graduation, that, although he did not believe himself possessed of the preaching gift, nevertheless, as he could not be a physician, he must become a clergyman. These two professions seemed to him to offer the best opportunities of usefulness and therefore his choice was limited to them, for his whole idea of life, from his earliest years, was the distinctly religious one of service.

Peters was always and everywhere religious, but his religion never took an emotional form. He was confirmed in Trinity Church, New Haven, during the first term of his Sophomore year, in November, 1838, when he was seventeen years of age, but we hear of no religious experiences or emotions. Emotional religion did not appeal to him. The religious surroundings of his college life were not altogether congenial, and in later life he sometimes showed a considerable prejudice against what he termed "Presbyterianism," which must be traced, in part certainly, to the experiences of his college days. He used often to speak of the narrowness of the College in its treatment of Episcopalians in his time, and of the sort of petty persecution to which they were subjected. While regretting sincerely that Trinity College was ever founded, and deprecating the policy of establishing small colleges on a sectarian basis, he used to say that it was the treatment of Churchmen at Yale, in his day and before, which drove them to set up a college of their own at Hartford.

The spring and summer vacations of 1841 Peters spent visiting in Washington and Baltimore and traveling in the south, the beginning of a series of travels which in the course of his life covered the larger part of the northern hemisphere. His diary of these journeys

shows a keenness of interest and observation, which was also to characterize his future traveling, so that traveling became to him a very important element in education and culture. His mother invited him to go abroad with her in June of 1841, but he felt it his duty to be present at Commencement, which fell in those days in August, and so declined.

In the autumn of 1841 Peters entered the General Theological Seminary, situated then as now at Chelsea Square, West 20th Street. In spite of his doubts about a theological career, he found himself at home at once and thoroughly enjoyed his studies, his fellow students, and his surroundings. From the outset he showed himself deeply interested in practical Christianity, in carrying the Gospel to the poor and needy, and scarcely had he entered the Seminary before he was engaged in mission work. Rev. William Richmond, rector of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale, St. James's Church, Hamilton Square, and St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, was already in those days well known as an ardent and zealous worker, who felt it to be his mission not only to establish the Church in all the waste places of the city and its suburbs, but even to carry the Gospel to the neglected inmates of the city institutions. Such a man appealed strongly to young Peters's lofty views of service and self-sacrifice in the cause of the Master, and he had scarcely entered the Seminary before he offered his services to Mr. Richmond and began to work under him at St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, reading services twice a Sunday, taking charge of the Sunday School, visiting the sick, etc. His license as a lay reader, from Bishop Brownell of Connecticut—New York, it will be remembered, was without a Bishop at this period,—is dated

September 27, 1842, but Peters actually began to work at Manhattanville almost a year before this time, in October or November of 1841, just after Rev. James Richmond had left on his mission to the Turks.

In the diary of his trip to Virginia Peters had spoken rather scoffingly of things Puritanical, but at the beginning of his theological course, although the seeds of revolt were planted, it is clear that he still continued to retain in general the Puritanical views in which he had been brought up with regard to the theatre, dancing, balls, and the like. He chides his sister in severe terms for going to see Fanny Kemble act. But although at the outset he retained these Puritanical views of life, theologically he began to react very rapidly from the Evangelical views in which he had been brought up. Trained in a religious atmosphere where beauty was banished from worship and all forms were regarded as savoring of popery, he began to display a great love of the beautiful in worship and admiration for a noble ritual. Those among whom he had been reared saw little difference between the Church and the Protestant communities about it. They cared little for orders, Apostolic succession, or historical continuity. He began to develop, on the other hand, a historic sense and a belief in organization, laying great weight on Apostolic succession, orders, and historical continuity. His parents, especially his father, looked with some distrust on the Seminary as a hotbed of dangerously High Church notions. In a letter, full of simple, religious feeling, he quotes to his son Dr. Alonzo Potter's views with regard to the Seminary: "He thinks your institution rather High Church, but thinks a pious man may not be injured by it." His mother quotes Alexander

Vinton, who regrets that two Boston boys are in the General Seminary and is sure that they will soon be tainted by Romanism.

At that date the Alexandria Seminary represented the Low Church as the General Seminary represented the High Church party. After the commencement of the War, when northern students could no longer go to Alexandria, Dr. Potter, then Bishop of Pennsylvania, established the Philadelphia School, because of his distrust of the General Seminary. That Seminary was in fact a hotbed of High Church ideas. The Oxford movement was at its height in England at this time and was already beginning to make itself felt in this country. Peters at once came under its influence. The famous TRACTS FOR THE TIMES led him to commence the reading of the Church Fathers, and before he had been many months in the Seminary he had become a High and exclusive Churchman, paying much attention to outward forms and entertaining the loftiest views regarding the Sacraments. His letters are very much concerned with points of theology, methods of observing fasts, the nature of the Sacraments, and other doctrinal questions. But if in these regards he reacted against the Evangelical training of his early days, nevertheless the earnestness of that Evangelical piety had impressed itself upon him and made him from his boyhood onward religious. He is concerned about the religious welfare of his family and his friends. His sister's confirmation fills him with great joy and he welcomes a proposition which she makes to devote herself to religious work, offering to see Bishop Chase on her behalf. On the other hand, he is much distressed because his family will not share his views of the Church and the Sacraments. His

mother has not been confirmed and he is greatly perturbed on that account. The New England theology in which they were trained is full of errors and he fears the effect of those errors on them. His mother very frankly tells him that he has become bigoted, and both his father and mother are anxious that he should leave the Seminary. His mother is also disturbed on account of his practical application to himself of his religious theories. She is afraid that his fasts may injure his health; that he is over-working in the mission work which he has undertaken at Manhattanville, and that he is starving and freezing himself in the effort to live simply, as he thinks a Christian ought to live.

Finally, after almost two years of his Seminary life were passed, Mrs. Peters renewed her invitation to her son to accompany her on an European trip, and he accepted. They sailed from Boston in June, 1843, and spent about six weeks in Great Britain, with a brief run over to Paris, devoting themselves especially to visiting the English cathedral towns. Mrs. Peters returned home in August, but her son determined to remain abroad and travel on his own account so thoroughly that he might learn to know the languages, the people, and the customs of Europe. For this purpose he spent the next two years traveling and sojourning in the Netherlands, France, Italy, and the East, including Egypt (quarantine for plague or cholera prevented him from reaching the Holy Land), but above all in Germany. He was a most industrious and diligent traveller, seeing and noting everything, from paintings, sculptures, architecture, and antiquities to the systems of sewerage, burial of the dead, clothes of the women, and amusing incidents of travel. He wrote very long and careful letters to his mother and

sister at home, which have been preserved, and he also kept a full journal of his travels. Sometimes he traveled on foot with a knapsack on his back, hobnobbing with the people. Rain-bound, he once spent three weeks in a peasant's house in a village near Mayence. On the whole he enjoyed most such experiences among the plain people, but he was also thoroughly at his ease in court circles. Happening to meet on a steamer in the Mediterranean the American Minister to Constantinople, Mr. Carr, the latter invited him to come to that city and appointed him an *attaché* of his legation. At that period young men of good family were appointed to such posts at various legations, to give them better opportunities of social intercourse and culture, a practice which was later prohibited. Peters remained in fact only about two weeks in Constantinople, but continued for many months to be technically an *attaché* to the legation at that point, a position which stood him in good stead socially in Germany, where he spent the winter of 1844-45 at Saxe-Weimar, attracted by the traditions of the Goethe period, studying the German language and literature, and having *entrée* to the court by virtue of his diplomatic rank. Americans were not common in such places in those days, and he enjoyed the special favor of the court and the personal friendship of the Crown Prince and his wife. The experience was undoubtedly useful to him. The customs and manners of life, so different from those at home, the differing religious ideas and practices, as, for example, in the observance of Sunday, were of great educative value. Thoroughly grounded as he was in the principles of religion, the court life presented no temptations to vice, but enlarged his views, removed his provincialism,

and helped greatly to develop that Christian and cosmopolitan gentlemanliness which were so noticeable in his later life. The change in his views regarding Sunday, the theatre, etc., showed itself at once in his correspondence, and his family were soon as much distressed about these new changes in his views of life and religion as they had been earlier in regard to the change of views which took place when he entered the Theological Seminary in New York. His father wished him to return to America, and although Peters desired to spend another year in Europe, he uncomplainingly complied with his father's wishes, returning to this country in 1845. At the end of October of that year he resumed his studies at the General Seminary and his work under Mr. Richmond at St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville.

Although Peters had almost completed his second year in the Seminary before his European trip, and had lost but little study time out of that year on his return, nevertheless he seems to have preferred to repeat the middle year in the Seminary, thus making his course four years instead of three. He finally graduated from the Seminary in 1847 and was ordained deacon in Calvary Church, New York, June 27th of that year, the ordaining Bishop being Bishop Brownell of Connecticut. Two days later, St. Peter's Day, June 29th, he was married to Alice Clarissa Richmond, the adopted daughter of Rev. and Mrs. William Richmond, and was at once appointed Assistant at St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, under the Rev. William Richmond.

St. Mary's Church was at that time in a very bad condition. No vestry meetings had been held since 1840. It was heavily in debt. Its only dependence

for income seems to have been the allowance received from Trinity Church, \$300, reduced a little later to \$200 annually. This was consumed, apparently, in the care of the building and other incidental expenses. No salary had been paid to the rector, William Richmond, and the arrears due him at that time amounted to about \$6000, which was a lien on the church. Peters set himself to build up an independent parish, and, as is recorded in the history of St. Mary's, he succeeded in doing so. Much of the work at the little church he did with his own hands, often making the fire and ringing the bell to call the congregation together for worship. It was only in this way that he could secure results. He built a rectory with money collected from his family and friends. The German population of the city was then increasing rapidly and there were many Germans in the neighborhood of Manhattanville. Peters's knowledge of the German language and of German life made him an acceptable worker among these people, and for their benefit, in addition to the English services, he conducted German services at St. Mary's.

In the same year, 1847, was organized the Mission to Public Institutions. As narrated in a preceding chapter, four or five of the city rectors had adopted the practice of opening their churches for daily prayer. Mr. Richmond, always in sympathy with work and workers as such, yet not in accord with the theological sentiment of these High Churchmen, was nevertheless inspired by the sight of their readiness voluntarily to undertake the confining task, far beyond what was considered a rector's or pastor's duty in those days. While he had no inclination to open his church for a daily service, at which but two or three members of

the congregation, and they among the most devout, could or would attend, he was not willing to be outdone in zeal for the Master's service, and therefore proposed to his assistant that they should each take from their days at least as many hours as would be occupied by the attendance of each at daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and employ that time in hospitals, almshouses, or asylums. This was a scheme which appealed to Peters's zeal and missionary spirit and he began almost at once holding services each week at the Colored Home in Yorkville, among the children on Randall's Island, and in the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, Mr. Richmond taking, among other places, the Bloomingdale Asylum and the New York Orphan Asylum. The work rapidly extended. Peters's methods were quite different from those of his father-in-law. He had essentially the gift of organization, and by 1849 the Mission to Public Institutions was well established. In it were enlisted the services of several laymen and clergymen, and the work was constantly extended; but it was not until 1853 that it was recognized by the Church and regular reports of the Mission to Public Institutions began to be made to the Convention of the Diocese. An appeal for funds issued in that year reads as follows:

Having for the past two years kept up weekly services of our Church in the Orphan Asylums, Bellevue Hospital, the Colored Home and on Blackwell's Island, I ask your aid in continuing the present work and extending the same blessing to Institutions which are now without it. The number of souls to whom for the coming year I hope to make our services accessible is about 5000. To affect this my own services are given at present for parts of three

days in each week. One thousand dollars is needed to pay other laborers and furnish books.

THOMAS McC. PETERS.

P. S. After this date a service will be held each Sunday morning among the 1400 children of Randall's Island.

May 9, 1853.

Three years after his ordination to the diaconate, on the fifth Sunday after Trinity, June 30, 1850, Peters was advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Whittingham of Maryland in Trinity Church, New York. It is rather curious to note that in these early years of his ministry, before he was priested, Peters came very near giving up his work in New York to go elsewhere. Early in 1849 he wrote to his cousin, John A. Peters of Bangor, Me., afterwards Chief Justice of that state, asking him to use his influence in securing him the rectorship of the church in that town, then vacant. This position was in fact offered to him, and he declined it. Why he should have sought it, and why he finally refused it I do not know. It was certainly a great gain to the Church in New York that he did not leave the city to seek a smaller and quieter work at that period.

In 1851 Mr. Richmond obtained a leave of absence from St. Michael's Church to go as a missionary to Oregon, and Peters was put in charge of that church during his absence, in addition to All Angels' and St. Mary's. During his temporary incumbency of St. Michael's Church Mr. Peters was instrumental in establishing another free church, St. Timothy's.

After his return to New York, February 24, 1853, Mr. Richmond resigned the rectorship of St. Mary's Church. The Rev. George L. Neide and Rev. Thomas McClure Peters were nominated for the rectorship, and

the latter was elected by five votes, Mr. Neide receiving four. Mr. Peters was unwilling to accept the rectorship if Mr. Neide wished it, and in a curious document still preserved he pledged himself to Mr. Neide to resign in six months if the latter so desired. Mr. Neide had been assisting Mr. Peters at Manhattanville during Mr. Richmond's absence and was occupying the rectory built in 1852. By the arrangement which Mr. Peters now made, Mr. Neide continued to occupy the rectory while conducting mission work in Blackwell's Island and elsewhere for the Mission to Public Institutions. This apparently satisfied him better than the rectorship of St. Mary's and he willingly left to Mr. Peters the difficult task of making that parish independent and capable of really supporting a rector.

In 1855 Mr. Peters removed from the old Van Horne house, where he had lived with his father-in-law up to that time, to the rectory at Manhattanville, and at the same time the Rev. Charles E. Phelps, a former classmate of his in the Seminary, was appointed his assistant at St. Mary's and All Angels', with actual charge of the latter. Peters's own contributions to the work of St. Mary's Church were evidently large. There is a record, March 29, 1856, of a gift from him of \$776.03 "for repairs, balance unpaid." Similarly he makes up the annual deficit at All Angels' Church. During the early years of his ministry his father and mother were in the habit of giving him considerable sums for his work, which he used in this manner and also for the Mission to Public Institutions. On October 21, 1856, his father died, leaving him a moderate competency, from which he gave still more liberally to these works. Indeed, so liberal were his gifts to the various church and charitable works in which he was interested then

and throughout his life that his friends and neighbors, and especially his parishioners at St. Michael's, regarded and often treated him as a rich man. He was in fact rich in his gifts not in his accumulations.

In connection with and in addition to the Mission to Public Institutions, it was Mr. Peters's aim to establish free churches throughout the city. To place them on a sound financial basis, he organized St. Michael's Free Church Society, which was to be the holding society for lands and funds for various such churches. To this was transferred the property held for All Angels' Church in the name of St. Michael's, and for this Society, in connection with Mr. James Punnett, Mr. Peter C. Tiemann, and others, Mr. Peters secured a piece of land in Manhattanville to be acquired, it was hoped, by St. Mary's Church. The debt on this property, however, was never paid and finally, in 1870, it was sold and acquired by the Sheltering Arms. It is on this land that the older buildings of that institution were erected.

Dr. Peters was a devoted adherent of the principles of the "free Church." In a sermon preached before the Free Church Guild in St. Ann's Church, December 4, 1873, and which had a large circulation and attracted much attention at the time, he says: "I entered upon my ministry six and twenty years ago, with the resolution never to be pastor of any but a free church." His devotion to the cause of the free churches almost resulted in the establishment, a few years later, of a new Church paper in New York. It was claimed that the Church press was too timid or too conservative to be willing to give a fair hearing to advocates of new measures, doctrines, and policies, and particularly that it would not give a fair hearing to the advocates of free

churches because of what one might call the Church corporation interests affected thereby. A small body of gentlemen, of which Dr. Peters was the head, subscribed a capital equal to the reputed capital of the largest Church paper of that day, to establish a new and free paper if necessary. Before actually establishing such a paper, however, it was agreed that the situation should be thoroughly tested. Accordingly Dr. Peters prepared a series of twelve articles on free churches which he offered to the editor of the *Churchman*. The latter agreed to publish them in successive issues of the paper. After a few had been published there came a sudden cessation, and on inquiry it was learned from the editor that the rectors of certain of the large churches had made so earnest a protest to him against the publication of such radical matter that he had thought it best to stop their publication so as not to offend valuable and influential clients. He was told forthwith of the arrangements which had been made in case no place could be found in the Church press for the publication of this or other similar material dealing with live issues and root principles, and the publication of the remaining papers was at once resumed and completed. To-day, it is needless to say, there would be no need of using a club to secure the admission of such articles into the journal which regarded it with apprehension for the safety of its subscription and advertising lists at that date.

In 1857 Mr. Peters organized a Church pay school in Manhattanville. Among others whose interest he had enlisted in his mission work were two young men, then studying for orders, S. H. Hilliard, now the Secretary of the Church Temperance Society in Massachusetts, and Leighton Coleman, now Bishop of Delaware. They

became inmates of his house for purposes of work and study, and Mr. Hilliard was made the teacher of this school. It was intended to be a classical school, under Church influences, for the education of the children of the more cultivated classes in the upper part of the island, where no high grade schools at that time existed. A building was erected on the land acquired for St. Mary's Church, and in this building the school was conducted until 1864, by which time the removal of residents of the class for whose children the school was originally designed on the one side and the increased facility of communication with the city on the other side, rendered it superfluous. Among others who had charge of this school during its existence was the late Bishop Seymour of Springfield.

Interested in all sorts of neighborhood and benevolent works, Mr. Peters was at this period, in conjunction with Dr. Williams, Mr. Tiemann, Mr. Punnett, Dr. Brown, and others, instrumental in starting a dispensary in Manhattanville, out of which ultimately grew the Manhattan Hospital (now the J. Hood Wright), of which he was first vice-president. He was also a leader in founding the Manhattan Library, which occupied for many years a brick building in Manhattanville and was a valuable educative agent in that neighborhood. A change of population in the years following Mr. Peters's departure from St. Mary's rendered it impossible to continue its support and it was finally abandoned about 1866 or 1867. A minute of the City Mission Society in the latter year records the purchase of the books of that library for distribution in the public institutions.

On the death of Mr. Richmond, in September, 1858, Mr. Peters was called to the rectorship of St. Michael's

Church. In accepting this call he resigned from St. Mary's Church, which was now able to support a rector of its own, and from All Angels' Church, which had at last been placed on a footing which enabled it to stand by itself, with some assistance from Trinity Church, for it was always his desire, at the earliest possible moment, to make the churches which he was instrumental in establishing free and independent and to compel them to stand upon their own base.

For himself his resignation of the charge of those two churches meant greater freedom to devote himself to new and more extensive missionary labors. Mr. Richmond's widow had during her husband's lifetime devoted herself especially to a mission work among fallen women and had organized the House of Mercy in 1854. After Mr. Richmond's death, Mr. Peters became her assistant and adviser in her chosen field of labor. She was full of zeal and enthusiasm, but not always practical or wise in her methods, and needed precisely such a helper and guide to make her work practicable and durable.

In 1859 the House of Mercy acquired the old Howland mansion, at the foot of 86th Street, on the North River. It was an old-fashioned house, with a great entrance hall, large library, reception and dining rooms, and a broad staircase to the stories above, reminiscent of the prosperity and luxury of a former day, but entirely without what we call modern conveniences. Not a few of the rooms could be lighted only by candles. It was just the sort of a house which children would choose to play hide-and-seek in, and after sunset it was a place full of mysteries and dark shadows. Into this old house Mrs. Richmond had gathered from the streets

of New York a number of girls with whom she now made her home. They were wild, impatient of restraint, often dangerous, and however willingly they might have originally come to the House of Mercy, finding themselves confined there for a definite period, they were always planning some method of escape. Mrs. Richmond had showed incomparable zeal and courage in gathering these women off the street. She proved quite incompetent to act as house mother of such a household, especially as she was engaged at the same time in founding other institutions and missions dealing with other phases and departments of the work. The conditions within the House of Mercy finally became so intolerable that she was compelled to appeal to Mr. Peters for help.

About 1856 Dr. Muhlenberg had organized a Sisterhood of the Holy Communion for the care of St. Luke's Hospital, the principal spirit in which was Sister Anne, who bore the title of First Sister. Into this sisterhood was admitted in the following year Miss Harriet Starr Cannon, originally of South Carolina, a woman of strong and dominant character. In the course of a few years dissension arose within this parochial sisterhood, and finally Sister Anne, finding that her ideas in regard to the methods and government of the sisterhood were not approved by some, if not most of its members, resigned her position. Dr. Muhlenberg thereupon declared the sisterhood dissolved by the withdrawal of its head, and proposed a new organization, a company of Christian ladies who should work under Miss Ayres (Sister Anne) as matron of the hospital. Miss Cannon and three associates felt themselves to have been badly treated by Dr. Muhlenberg and withdrew from association with his work. Indeed, so

strong was their feeling in the matter that they refused, in the following year, even to meet him.

It was precisely at this period, when these four women, zealous and capable, with considerable experience in work, found themselves without a vocation or occupation, that the House of Mercy was thrown on Mr. Peters's hands. Through his intimate acquaintance with Dr. Muhlenberg Mr. Peters was well acquainted with those who worked under him. Others looked somewhat askance at the "Sisters," who were felt to have deserted St. Luke's. Mr. Peters realized their character and their merits and in this emergency he turned to them to take charge of the House of Mercy, and in the following year enlisted their services to take charge of the Sheltering Arms, of which later. While their feeling toward Dr. Muhlenberg was one of resentment for treatment received, Dr. Muhlenberg on his part seems to have been thoroughly convinced of their capacity and their value as workers and was willing and glad that Mr. Peters should engage their assistance in these works. Both Mr. Peters and the "Sisters" seem shortly to have come to the conclusion that, in order to make their work effective, there should be a more definite and permanent organization of the nature of a sisterhood. Mr. Peters laid the matter before the Bishop of New York and suggested the appointment by him of a committee to take under advisement the question of the organization of such a sisterhood. The Bishop appointed on this committee the persons whom Mr. Peters proposed, adding him to the number. To this committee were submitted the general plans and principles proposed by Mr. Peters and the "Sisters," as they were already called. The plan proposed by the committee of presbyters met with the Bishop's ap-

proval, and on the Feast of the Purification, 1865, five sisters, Harriet Starr Cannon, Jane C. Haight, Sarah C. Bridge, Mary B. Heartt, and Amelia W. Asten were formally received by Bishop Potter in St. Michael's Church as the first members of the Sisterhood of St. Mary, a society for the "performance of all spiritual and corporal works of mercy which a woman may perform, especially the care of the sick and the education of the young." This was the first instance of the profession of sisters by a Bishop in our communion since the Reformation, and was a step beyond any which had been taken up to that time in England.

The Sisters were anxious to have Mr. Peters as their spiritual director; but inasmuch as the Sisterhood was a distinct innovation, and was looked at with apprehension from many quarters, he felt that for its own sake it must have as its chaplain some one well known in the Church at large, and who would command the confidence of the Church. With characteristic modesty he felt that he was not such a person, and at his suggestion and request the rector of Trinity Church became the spiritual director of the Sisterhood. Possibly, had Mr. Peters accepted the position which the Sisters desired him to accept, the development of the Sisterhood might have been different, and some of that excess of ritual, which caused difficulties a little later, might have been avoided. But although he declined to accept the position of spiritual adviser, for the first few years of their existence he remained in closest touch with the Sisters. The institutions of which they had charge, the House of Mercy, the Sheltering Arms, and St. Barnabas's House, which latter had been committed to their care in 1865, were under Mr. Peters's immediate direction, both temporal and spiritual, and his relations

with the Sisters were of the closest and most friendly description.

Set free from the personal care for the inmates of the House of Mercy, Mrs. Richmond was able to develop further her remarkable work for fallen women. She opened the Home for Homeless Women and Children at 304 Mulberry Street, which in 1865 was taken over by the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society and became St. Barnabas's House, and out of which, in 1867, after her death, grew also the Midnight Mission. The last institution in this series which Mrs. Richmond was instrumental in founding, and in which Mr. Peters was her assistant and adviser, was the New York Infant Asylum, originally established in old Woodlawn, at 107th Street and Bloomingdale Road.

Reference has been made to the Sheltering Arms, founded in 1864, of which Mr. Peters, in writing a sketch of his own life for his Yale Class history speaks as his "proudest work."

There had been found on the steps of the City Hall a young blind girl, Minnie Bollard, now a member of this congregation and an inmate of the Blind Home, for whom no place could be found in any institution then existing in the city. No blind asylum would take her, because she was too young, no orphan or half-orphan asylum, because she was blind. The search for a home for this child revealed to Mr. Peters the fact that there were many others for whom no provision was made. It seemed to him necessary to establish an institution to care for such children, and he proposed also so to extend its scope that it might become a means of taking charge temporarily of children during periods of family distress. Sometimes through sickness or desertion by a husband a woman

was left with little children to provide for. She could go out and work for their support if she could only find a home in which to place them temporarily, until her husband's recovery or return, or until they had grown old enough to earn something themselves and unite with her in making a home. Similarly husbands were temporarily left with children whom they did not wish to surrender, and for whom they yet had at the moment no way of providing. Institutions then existing demanded the complete surrender of children.

Mr. Peters's plan was to keep parents in touch with their children, to let them contribute as much as they could for their support, and to hand their children back to them again at the earliest possible moment, so that the family life might continue. He invited a few friends to assist him in this undertaking, for which he proposed the name of St. John's Inn. St. John, as the apostle of love, always appealed to him with singular power, and it seemed to him that the name of the apostle of love might well be applied to an institution which was to take loving care of little children. Dr. Muhlenberg asked him to select some other name, since a name similar to that was in his mind in connection with an institution which he was proposing to start, the later St. Johnland. Mr. Peters consented, provided that Dr. Muhlenberg would furnish him with a name equally as good. The meeting at which this occurred was held at Mr. Peters's house on 101st Street and Bloomingdale Road. Mr. Peters walked down with his friends to 84th Street and 8th Avenue, the nearest point at that time where the cars could be taken for the city. They were overtaken by a storm and took refuge in the shelter car at that place. That night Dr. Muhlenberg wrote to

Mr. Peters a letter, saying that the old car which the Railroad Company had utilized for a shelter had suggested the very name he wanted, "The Shelter." Out of this suggestion Mr. Peters evolved the name now so famous, "The Sheltering Arms (of Jesus)," the last words not being actually used in the title, because too sacred for common use and readily understood from the context. To make the institution a success required, however, a sacrifice. It must have a home in which to start. When he became rector of St. Michael's, Mr. Peters had bought the large house built by Mr. D. S. Jackson, for many years warden of St. Michael's Church, and at one time occupied by him, which stood, until very recently, at 101st Street and Broadway, surrounded by beautiful grounds, an acre and a half in extent. To establish the institution Mr. Peters offered the use of this house, free of charge, for ten years; and he and his family moved out of their beloved home to make room for the little waifs from the street.

Mr. Peters dearly loved children, and this institution which brought children together and cared for them appealed to him more than any other work in which he was engaged. It was his special pride and his special delight throughout his life. Each child in the institution was his personal friend. He studied the work which was being done for children all over the world, and his plans for the Sheltering Arms, of caring for children in little groups and preventing them from being institutionalized, of providing them with normal garments instead of institutional uniforms, of keeping them in touch with the outside world, of giving them in the Public Schools the same education and training which other children had, have been imitated since that time far and wide.

The condemnation of a considerable portion of the property occupied by the Sheltering Arms for the opening of the "Public Drive" or Boulevard, now Broadway, in 1868, compelled a removal of the institution to other quarters. Advantage was taken of this removal to erect suitable buildings better adapted for the segregation and training of the children, according to the methods approved by Dr. Peters and the trustees. For this, however, money was needed and some of the friends of the Sheltering Arms undertook a great bazaar in which they invited all the churches of the city to co-operate. Associations were formed in Trinity, Grace, St. Thomas's, the Incarnation, Trinity Chapel, and many other churches to work for the Sheltering Arms Bazaar. At this period party spirit in the Church ran high. The Sisters had developed ritualistic practices which were novel and offensive to many, and an agitation commenced against the Sheltering Arms on that account, which seemed to threaten its further existence. The Sisters had already, in 1867, withdrawn from the charge of St. Barnabas's House, to avoid unpleasantness, and Dr. Peters, with Sister Ellen, had organized a new sisterhood with simple and more natural dress, and less rigid rules and forms, the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, to take charge of that institution. Now a demand was made on the trustees of the Sheltering Arms by not a few of its friends to discharge the Sisters. Dr. Peters, supported by the Executive Committee, refused to accede to this demand, even at the risk of alienating many friends and losing financial support. But although he and the Executive Committee were thus ready to stand by the Sisters, the latter suddenly notified Dr. Peters that they would leave the Sheltering Arms in ten days.

Dr. Peters's report of this whole incident is printed as a note to this chapter, both because it illustrates so thoroughly his character and courage, and also because the hitherto published accounts of this incident, and indeed of the origin of the Sisterhood,¹ give a somewhat erroneous impression, unfair both to the trustees of the Sheltering Arms and to Dr. Peters.

By 1864 Dr. Peters's mission work had assumed very large proportions. He had secured the interest and assistance of a number of prominent laymen, some of whom personally visited the various city institutions and held services, with a form prepared by him, at Blackwell's Island, Randall's Island, the House of Refuge, and elsewhere. Among these were Mr. Winston, Mr. Kitchen, president of the National Park Bank, Mr. James Punnett, president of the Bank of America, and Mr. William Alexander Smith. In 1864 Dr. Peters called a meeting of those interested in this Mission to Public Institutions and others at Calvary Church, the result of which was that the Mission to Public Institutions took over the formerly existing but now defunct Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, with its admirable charter. From that time to the date of his death Dr. Peters was the head of the Executive Committee of the City Mission Society and its real director and administrator. It is not too much to say that the work done by that Society practically changed the character of the Church in this city, making it, instead of the exclusive church of the cultured few, next to the Roman Catholic, the church of the masses.

In 1867 the work of the City Missions had grown so large that it seemed impossible to manage it through a

¹ See *Harriet Starr Cannon: A Memoir*, by Morgan Dix.

voluntary committee, as heretofore, and the trustees decided that it was desirable to engage on a salary "a suitable person for the practical direction and management of the City Missions." The committee appointed to select such a man unanimously agreed to present the name of Dr. Peters. Their report shows clearly the part which he had played in organizing that mission:

The Committee have been persuaded that in designating Dr. Peters to the charge of this most responsible and important work, they only recognize the great value of his past services to the City Mission.

Its revival after long deadness, and its present efficiency are largely due to his zealous and patient labors, as also to his personal services, gifts and pecuniary advances on its behalf. He is thoroughly conversant with its history, its routine and scope, with its present necessities, and required agencies, in the coming time, and he possesses, withal, as we believe, such special qualifications for the work, and such general respect and confidence, as will enable him to advance the interests of this Society, and make it an instrument of unspeakable good.

According to the plan proposed by them Dr. Peters was to "retain the pastoral charge of St. Michael's Church and receive its income, although devolving the burden of parochial duties upon an assistant." His salary was fixed at \$3000 to date from December 1, 1867. This proposition and nomination were quite unexpected by Dr. Peters, but after consideration he concluded that it would be in the interest of the Church to accept. It was with some difficulty, however, that the Vestry of St. Michael's Church was induced to accept the proposition and then it was approved only by a divided Vestry.

At a meeting of the Board of the City Missions on the 19th of November, 1867, a letter was received from the Rev. Dr. Peters accepting the position and a resolution passed notifying the missionaries and others holding positions in the City Mission Society of his appointment as executive head. Then Rev. Dr. Morgan, rector of St. Thomas's Church and chairman of the committee on Dr. Peters's appointment, reported that he had had a personal interview with the Bishop on the subject and that the Bishop refused to sanction the appointment. A committee of five laymen—F. S. Winston, Thomas W. Ogden, William Alexander Smith, William K. Kitchen, and Albert McNulty, Jr.—was then appointed to confer with the Bishop to ascertain and, if possible, remove his objections. The committee met the Bishop, who had invited his counsel, Stephen B. Nash, to be present, and after some conversation handed him a written statement. It being understood that the Bishop's objections to the appointment were in part personal, the committee took pains to incorporate in its statement certain historical facts which are of interest for this sketch, as showing to what extent the City Mission was indebted for its origin and support to Dr. Peters's initiative and his direction:

The City Mission was revived after it was practically dead for many years mainly for the purpose of making the Mission to Public Institutions, which was a voluntary Association, a Church Institution.

This Mission to Public Institutions was commenced nearly twenty years ago by the Rev. Dr. Peters while assistant minister of St. Michael's Church with the co-operation of the then Rector of that Parish, the Rev. William Richmond, D.D. In this work Dr. Peters has

ever since faithfully labored while attending to his parish duties with an earnestness, self-sacrifice and increasing success, which has won the confidence and secured the co-operation of members of our Church until the Mission embraced in its benevolent design and labors nearly all the Public Institutions of the City both criminal and humane. The Mission was both prosperous and popular and no necessity existed of abandoning the voluntary organization under which the Society had attained its growth and importance. But it was more in accordance with the views of all those who were managing its affairs to place it on the platform of a recognized Society of the Church, not doubting that while it was loyal to Church authority all measures which experience should demonstrate to be necessary to its welfare and prosperity would be both permitted and encouraged.

After the transfer of the work of the voluntary Society to the City Mission it became necessary to obtain from the Legislature of this state an amendment of its Charter that it might embrace such additional objects of general Christian benevolence as St. Barnabas House and other kindred objects.

This was done and the field in which this Society now labors embraces the following institutions under the charge of the public authorities of the City. [Here are enumerated practically all the city institutions, together with a large number of private or semi-private institutions.]

The report proceeds:

These objects and others not enumerated bring under the direct operations of this Society it is believed fully one hundred thousand persons annually and many of these are ministered to constantly throughout the year.

The Society, in addition to the Clerical members who manage its affairs and the City Clergy who officiate as they have opportunity, employs eight Ministers of the Church as Missionaries whose time is wholly given to Missionary

labor. In addition the number of lay workers under the direction of the Society or laboring indirectly in its behalf on objects connected with it is believed to be not less than one hundred.

Before the Society had attained its present magnitude it was found to be indispensable to the proper systemization of its operations and the infusing of the requisite energy, regularity and economy into its affairs that a suitable clergyman should be appointed who had the experience and the ability and who would be responsible under the Ecclesiastical Authority and the Board for the proper administration of its various religious and secular concerns. . . .

If the reasons are required why Dr. Peters was unanimously selected for this office by the Executive Committee they are briefly as follows:

He was practically the founder of our Mission to Public Institutions nearly twenty years ago and has continued his labors in them to this time, notwithstanding his duties as a Parish Minister. He has been either the founder or instigator and active promoter and the liberal benefactor of nearly every other benevolent Institution now under the charge of the City Mission.

In addition to his benefactions he has collected a large proportion of the funds necessary to the establishment and support of these institutions.

His zeal, sound judgment, and practical benevolence are appreciated by a large number of the members of our Church, and possessing their confidence, he is better able than any Presbyterian known to the Executive Committee to obtain the men and the means to carry on the extensive and increasing operations of the Society. He possesses sound judgment and good executive ability and is fully capable to arrange, manage and direct the complicated and multiform affairs connected with the operations of the Society.

His character and principles both moral and ecclesi-

astical are believed to be both unimpeached and unimpeachable.

For these and many other reasons not deemed necessary to state in this communication but which are of great importance to the interests of the Church and which will be given if necessary the Committee most respectfully but earnestly request your ecclesiastical consent to the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Peters to the position to which he has been appointed by the City Mission Society.

In answer the Bishop read a communication, the text of which he declined to give to the Committee, refusing his consent to the proposed arrangement, by which Dr. Peters was to be made executive head and general director of the City Mission Society. This put an end to that proposition, and although Dr. Peters continued until the end of his life to act practically as executive head and general director, he did so as chairman of the Executive Committee and an unpaid official. Ten years later it became necessary for the City Mission to engage a paid superintendent, but no further attempt was made to revive the plan of appointing Dr. Peters, vetoed by the Bishop in 1867. Whether the rejection of this proposition was to the ultimate advantage of the City Mission Society and of Dr. Peters's work in general, we do not know; but we are distinctly of the opinion that for the interests of St. Michael's parish as a parish it was a fortunate occurrence. Dr. Peters believed that the Bishop was largely influenced in his attitude toward him on this occasion by his activity in the question of the division of the Diocese, one of the few matters of importance in which Dr. Peters took any important part in Convention discussions and action.

It will be remembered that the first division of the

Diocese into a western half, out of which were later created the dioceses of Central and Western New York, and an eastern half was finally effected in 1838. By 1851 the Diocese of New York proper, the present dioceses of New York, Long Island, and Albany, had grown so unwieldy that a committee was appointed in the Diocesan Convention to consider and report on a division. That Committee reported back to the Convention of 1852 and no action was taken. New York had been without a Bishop since 1845, when Bishop Onderdonk had been sentenced and suspended for immoral conduct. In 1852, Dr. Wainwright, rector of Grace Church, was elected provisional Bishop and it seemed to be the general opinion that, in view of the fact that the Diocese was now provided with a Bishop, it might not be necessary to proceed to division, or at least that there was no immediate need of action. Dr. Wainwright wore himself out and died within two years. In 1854 Dr. Horatio Potter, then rector of St. Peter's, Troy, was chosen as his successor; both he and his principal competitor being represented as favoring the division of the Diocese. Division was, so to speak, one of the planks in each platform. After the election, however, the Journal of Convention contains no notice of any further discussion of the question of division until 1859. There had been in the meantime increasing complaints of inadequate Episcopal supervision and expressions of a desire for the division of the Diocese. In his Convention address of that year, 1859, Bishop Potter takes up and discusses the various informal propositions which had been made looking to division of the Diocese, reaching, however, an unfavorable conclusion. It was clear that the Bishop and Diocese both needed some sort of relief, and in order that the Bishop might not be

over-burdened and that the Diocese might be efficiently administered, Judge Murray Hoffman suggested the possibility of rural deans to take a portion of the Bishop's work. In the following year this proposal of rural deans was referred to a Committee of Seven, of which Judge Hoffman was one and Mr. Peters another, but in that form the idea did not appear practicable. The following year, 1861, the Bishop, in his Convention address, again discussed the question of the division of the Diocese in such a manner as to make it seem clear that some sort of relief was required, although he himself was still opposed to division. This part of the address was referred to a Committee of Thirteen, of which Mr. Peters was again a member.

He has often related to the writer the incidents of the struggle for division which ensued and described the great personal pressure brought to bear by the Bishop against division. Members of the Committee who were favorable to division were seen by the Bishop and in view of his strong personal opposition to division, although themselves convinced of its desirability, the majority finally refused to join in the report recommending it. One distinguished member of the committee, who was instrumental in drawing up what proved to be the minority report and who was himself to have presented it in Convention, at the last moment absented himself from the city and from Convention, so as not to come in conflict with the Bishop. The committee finally presented a majority report, signed by eight members of the Committee, to the effect that "a division of this Diocese at the present time is deemed inexpedient." Two members of the Committee, including the mover of the original motion, Dr. Hawkes, absented themselves from Convention, and three,

Judge Hoffman, and Rev. Messrs. Peters and Payne, presented minority reports. The minority report of the two latter, printed in the Journal of 1862, contains a history of the whole matter and a proposition, originating with Mr. Peters, looking to the ultimate division of the Diocese of New York into five parts, not immediately, but as occasion may arise. A statesmanlike scheme was proposed to provide for this division; and in connection with the proposed plan of division it was suggested that the General Convention should be requested to consider the subject of establishing provincial synods.

According to this scheme the Diocese was to be divided into five districts or convocations: (1) the City and County of New York and the County of Richmond; (2) the Counties of Kings, Queens and Suffolk; (3) the Counties of Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess and Columbia; (4) the Counties of Rensselaer, Washington, Saratoga, Warren, Essex, Franklin and St. Lawrence, Rockland, Orange, Sullivan, Ulster and Delaware; (5) Greene, Albany, Schenectady, Schoharie, Otsego, Montgomery, Herkimer, Fulton and Hamilton. Each such convocation was to be empowered to deliberate upon the erection of its own district into a Diocese, and whenever any convocation should vote in favor of such erection the subject was to come before the Diocesan Convention for action.

The result of the discussion which followed the submission of these reports was the appointment of a new Committee of Nine, of which Dr. Littlejohn, afterwards Bishop of Long Island, was chairman, and Mr. Peters a member, to consider further the question of the division of the Diocese in conference with the Bishop. At the next Convention, 1863, that Committee reported

by a vote of eight to one in favor of division. Then the Bishop formally refused to agree to a division of his Diocese and the matter was tabled.

The next year, in his Convention address, Bishop Potter again expressed his disapproval of division for the present. But sentiment on the subject had become too strong for him to resist and finally, in 1866, he was obliged, himself, to recognize the necessity of division, and so appointed a Committee of Fifteen to consider the subject once more. That Committee reported in favor of the present division of the Diocese, which was carried out in 1868. Dr. Peters had been omitted from this Committee, but it was generally understood that it was his persistence which had kept the matter to the front and been largely instrumental in securing the result. He prophesied at the time, however, that the method of division finally adopted, while better than nothing, was a mere makeshift measure, unsatisfactory and inadequate. In point of fact, to-day both Albany and New York are feeling the necessity of re-adjustment and further division, and the question is how it is to be properly accomplished.

During this period, when Dr. Peters was so strongly advocating division, in opposition to the wishes of the Bishop of the Diocese, he was subjected to much pressure; but he was as obstinate as he was mild, and however much the Bishop might be able to induce others to change their opinions, it was absolutely impossible to move him. The Bishop was a man who could not tolerate precisely this sort of opposition, and so long as he was Bishop of the Diocese, as Dr. Peters used to say afterwards, he was never appointed to any committee or entrusted with any duty conferring distinction or indicating confidence. Few prob-

ably realized how keenly Dr. Peters felt this, or how highly he appreciated the confidence of his fellow-Churchmen, and what position conferred by them meant to him. When near the close of his life, in 1891, he was elected to the Standing Committee, it was almost pathetic to see how the man who had accomplished such a great work in the Diocese, was delighted with this very tardy recognition on the part of his fellows in the Church. His appointment as Archdeacon of New York in the following year was a similar and if possible greater source of gratification.

In general, in view of the work done and the position actually held by him, the ecclesiastical recognition which he received was small. In 1865 Trinity College, Hartford, conferred upon him the title of S. T. D. About this time, also, the reputation of the work which he had accomplished in New York brought him two offers or partial offers of what were practically missionary bishoprics. His father had come originally from Blue Hill, Me., and he was widely connected and well acquainted in that State. In the summer of 1864 he visited Maine, taking two of his sons with him, and spent a couple of weeks traveling, largely by stage-coach—for there were few railroads in Maine in those days—over all the coast line, visiting his relatives and kinsfolk on both his father's and his mother's side, and making acquaintance, as I remember it (for I was one of the two boys) with all the Churchmen, and they were few in number, in the different towns and studying the Church situation. I understood vaguely at the time that it was in some way a Church mission, that his visit to Maine had something to do with the Church in that State, and afterwards was informed that certain influential Churchmen in Maine had sug-

gested his candidacy for Bishop of that Diocese in the near future. Dr. Peters, after conscientiously considering the situation, concluded that the obligation to his mission work in New York was superior to any obligation which could come to him in relation to Maine, and declined to have his name considered as a candidate for Bishop of that State.

In 1866 the Bishopric of Florida was offered to him by those who seemed to have authority in the matter. I always understood, from his own allusions to this affair that, the Diocese being in a desperate condition financially, their object was to secure a Bishop who had or was supposed to have means sufficient to support himself and probably assist the Diocese also. He declined to consider the proposition for himself, but it was, as I always understood, at his nomination or suggestion that Dr. Young was made Bishop of that Diocese; and in later years Bishop Young used half jocularly to reproach Dr. Peters for having made him Bishop of Florida.

During war times Dr. Peters's command of the German language enabled him to minister to the German recruiting station which was maintained at 95th Street and Broadway. Here, on a large property belonging to the Mott estate, where Dr. Williams lived for many years (his house is still standing, a curious little wooden structure, which looks as though it were upside down), a German regiment was encamped for some months, recruiting its strength and drilling preparatory to going to the front. Mr. Peters became their chaplain during that period and St. Michael's their parish church. The first service held every Sunday—and Mr. Peters held at least five services somewhere each Sunday in those days—was in German for this regiment, which

filled the whole church. Mr. Peters, as might be supposed of a man of his temperament, was profoundly stirred by the war. A patriot and a citizen he desired to do his part for his country. It seemed impossible to leave the large mission work which depended upon him and offer himself to go to the front as chaplain. But throughout the war, although not, as a clergyman, subject to draft, he provided a substitute, paying him out of his own pocket. His house was the centre in which the women of the neighborhood gathered to work for the soldiers at the front. Many of his parishioners were in the army, with whom he kept in close touch. After the war the writer of this sketch, making a visit to Richmond, found that Mr. Peters had been in the habit of corresponding with the rector of the Monumental Church with regard to his parishioners in the Confederate prisons, securing for them such friendly ministrations, spiritual and otherwise, as were practicable and repaying the service by caring in a similar way for the prisoners of the Monumental Church who were confined in northern prisons.

An earnest patriot, Dr. Peters belonged politically to the Democratic party, his democracy being conditioned on his general principles: his opposition to special privileges and consequently to a protective tariff; and thorough belief in the people and, as a consequence, in local self-government. He never, however, expressed himself in any public manner on political issues; in fact he most carefully avoided any such expression, believing that it would interfere with his religious work. He always performed his duties as a voter and was a regular contributor to party funds. The local party organization always called on him in person for subscriptions for that as for all other neigh-



HOUSE FORMERLY OCCUPIED BY DR. A. V. WILLIAMS
In Period of Transition, after Cutting through of 95th Street

borhood matters, sure of a liberal response. Outside of politics every neighborhood enterprise or merry-making looked to Dr. Peters for sympathy and financial co-operation, if nothing else. Even those who "shot the devil" on New Year's Eve, according to the old New York Dutch practice, always called at the rectory some time after midnight, when the devil was supposedly driven off, to ask and receive a liberal donation for their efforts in disturbing the rector's peaceful sleep. He was fond of old customs, and even such a bad old custom as this he could not quite bring himself to frown upon; much less the practice of New Year's calling. On New Year's Day he was always at home to receive his male parishioners, and on the two days following New Year's he returned their calls.

It was not only in holding services for German regiments that Dr. Peters made his knowledge of that language effective for good. There were, in the middle of the last century, a great number of Germans on the west side of the city from 59th Street to Manhattanville, without religious opportunities of any kind. Dr. Peters's acquaintance with the German language, resulting from his residence in Germany, enabled him to reach these people and he considered the mission to them as among his obligations. To supply their needs services were held for many years in the German language in St. Mary's or St. Michael's Church. The largest settlement of these Germans and the most neglected of all lay too far southward to be readily accessible for either of these centres. A town of ragpickers of considerable size had grown up in the neighborhood of what is now 8th Avenue from 86th Street southward. The creation of the park drove out such Germans as were in that neighbor-

hood, adding them to this colony. How in 1867 Dr. Peters commenced here the mission work out of which grew Bethlehem Chapel, and finally St. Matthew's Church, is narrated elsewhere.

Still one more church grew out of his efforts to realize his theory of the obligation of St. Michael's Church to provide spiritual care for all the people in St. Michael's territorial cure, establishing churches, if possible free churches, at different convenient points as the population increased. He did not believe in chapels. Ecclesiastically as politically he believed in self-government, and his aim always was to establish churches which should at the earliest possible moment be made independent and allowed to control their own affairs. In the sixties and seventies quite a village developed in the neighborhood of 110th Street, owing to the fact that this street was at an early date opened across to 8th Avenue and Harlem. Enterprising builders lined it on both sides with little wooden houses, which were occupied by plain artisans, while on the neighboring streets and lanes, not yet cut through, developed a population of inferior grade. In course of time the character of this population changed, the fairly well-to-do artisans giving way to a poorer population largely Roman Catholic. Finally, about 1880, 110th Street became the slums of Bloomingdale, and a Sunday rarely passed when the police were not called out to quell some disturbance or to gather up the injured. It had become a field for mission work. In the meantime the population in the immediate neighborhood of St. Michael's had grown so large that Dr. Peters felt that it would be necessary to create a new parish to the north. Accordingly, in 1884 he detailed his son, who was then his assistant, to secure

a hall in that neighborhood and commence holding services there. Probably fortunately, because of the immediate proximity of the Cathedral, whose erection, however, seemed at that time in the very far distant future, no hall could be obtained. About that time also the improvement of Harlem Commons began to attract people to the neighborhood east of Morning-side Park and north of 110th Street, and it soon became clear that a church was much more needed there than on 110th Street. To this region, therefore, Dr. Peters turned his attention, with the view of founding probably the last hive which would ever swarm from St. Michael's, the Church of the Archangel. But the story of this work and of his New Jersey mission is told elsewhere.

Dr. Peters's remarkable success as an administrator led to many demands upon him, both private and public. It was very difficult for him to refuse to do any work which was offered to him. People whose private affairs were in confusion applied to him for assistance and it was astonishing to those who had to deal with his affairs after his death to realize how many people he had advised and assisted. He was sought also for the boards of all sorts of organizations and institutions of benevolent character. Owing to the confidence felt in his administration by the public, his help was also sought by institutions which had fallen into difficulty.

In 1873 the House of Rest for Consumptives, the first hospital of its kind I believe in the country, was established at Tremont in a very modest way. Its trustees found themselves unable to interest the public in the work and finally, after struggling for some years to maintain the institution, they turned to Dr. Peters

for help. Among the trustees were some who had assisted him from the outset in the work of the Sheltering Arms, the City Mission and elsewhere, a bond which in his judgment created an obligation on his part, so that he felt himself obliged to accede to their request, and in 1876 he became president of the House of Rest for Consumptives, a position which he continued to hold until the day of his death.

In the following year, in order to save them from utter ruin, he was obliged to accept the charge of the Children's Fold and Shepherd's Fold. They were originally established by the Rev. Mr. Cowley, one of the missionaries of the City Mission on the Island, to care for children who were city charges. It was the usage of the city in those days to commit children to institutions or to the care of individuals and pay a certain sum for their keep. The Roman Catholics had taken full advantage of this, but no proper provision had been made for the care of Protestant children committed by the city. With the help of a number of benevolent gentlemen interested in the City Mission Mr. Cowley organized and incorporated these two institutions to receive and care for Protestant children committed by the city, it being calculated that the city grant could be made to pay at least the larger part of the expenses of such an institution. Having established the institutions and secured the grant which he desired, Mr. Cowley mismanaged them to such an extent that he was finally prosecuted for cruelty to children and sentenced to a year in the penitentiary.¹

¹It is a strange comment on the attitude of the clerical mind toward evil doing by a clergyman that, in spite of this conviction for a criminal offence, a committee of five clergymen, to whom was

In this emergency of their institutions, some of the trustees called on Dr. Peters for assistance and after a legal battle both the Shepherd's and the Children's Fold were rescued from Mr. Cowley's hands and Dr. Peters became their president. For a number of years the children of these institutions were housed in buildings in the neighborhood of St. Michael's Church or distributed among families especially selected for the purpose, Dr. Peters giving his personal care and attention to the well-being of every child. As the city encroached more and more he secured a large tract of land at Elmsford on the Northern Railroad, which he named Mt. Minturn, and here he undertook to establish a benevolent colony. It was his plan to retain the Sheltering Arms as a central city station and a place for the care of children who must be kept in close touch with parents, or whose stay in the institution was expected to be short, but to care for the greater number of the children of all his institutions in the country, housing them in separate cottages, each of which should be a real home. He proposed also to so arrange that the city parishes might place colonies of children or even adults at Mt. Minturn, paying a ground rental and a charge for water, light, etc., which would greatly reduce the expense for all.

At the time of his death, he had so far perfected his plans, that the boys of both the Children's and the Shepherd's Fold had been transferred to cottages built for them at Mt. Minturn. His scheme was a magnifi-

entrusted by the Diocese the question of an ecclesiastical prosecution, reported that Mr. Cowley had done nothing which would justify trial or punishment by the Church. Therefore, to the day of his death, although convicted of criminal cruelty toward little children, he remained a priest in good standing in the church.

cent one, and one which, had he lived, he would doubtless have carried to success, but no one else had the faith or courage to undertake it. For some years the boys of the two folds continued to live at Mt. Minturn, but Dr. Peters's other plans for the place were not carried out. At last, the city having largely diminished its appropriation under the new State law, the whole plant was sold, the Mt. Minturn work abandoned, and the Children's and Shepherd's Folds merged in the Sheltering Arms, which was continued at the old site and on the old plan.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the confidence in Dr. Peters's administrative ability displayed by the city authorities, which led them to make him for some time the almoner of city funds for out-door relief.

It would seem as though, with this immense amount of outside works on his hands, each one of which seemed to be sufficient to absorb all the strength and time of one individual, there would have been no time left for parochial work; and yet those who lived under Dr. Peters's parochial administrations never felt that they or their needs were neglected. He never seemed to be in a hurry, he always seemed to have time to meet everyone and converse with everyone; to call on the sick, to make the acquaintance of the children of his parishioners, to comfort and console the afflicted. And not only that: he was pastor to a great host of those who rarely or never entered a church, but who always sent for him in any sickness, need, or trouble. Of course to accomplish this work it was necessary that he should give all his strength and time to it. He did not believe it right for him to take long vacations, as is the custom of city rectors, and even of some suburban rectors at the present day. A little trip of

two weeks, or a month, at the outside was his conception of a holiday. Twice in his ministry he accepted a long leave of absence, when even his robust health threatened to yield under the strain of work, namely, in 1874, when he spent a number of months on the Pacific coast, and in 1883, when he received a ten months' leave of absence to go around the world with his brother. He showed himself then the same keen and observant traveler as in his earlier years. His letters to the Sheltering Arms and the children of St. Michael's Sunday School made them sharers in the joy of his travel. He studied carefully the Japanese prison system and prepared a paper for the Prison Association, of which he was one of the active members. Other shorter tours he took also on his ordinary vacations, visiting most parts of this country, Canada and the West Indies. Once in 1881 he went to Europe to marry his son.

Dr. Peters was not in any sense a great preacher. He was a thoughtful, intellectual, highly cultivated man, but neither an orator nor a writer. In 1867 he is described as having "a pleasing delivery," and speaking every word with full and understandable accent." The same writer also describes him as "exceedingly modest" but "intensely persevering," with a "judgment thoroughly reliable" and "ways of working very quiet."¹

He distrusted always his command of the pen and used to turn to Dr. Montgomery and other of his friends to cast into better language his reports of work of the City Mission, the Sheltering Arms, and the like. He was always a growing man, however, and the sermons of the last years of his life were far superior

¹ *The Northender.*

both in matter and delivery to those preached in early years. Sometimes in the latter years, when he cast aside his manuscript and spoke without notes, he took fire and became almost eloquent. He never was afraid of a new thought, and kept abreast of what the world was thinking and doing. For this reason he was counted by many a Broad Churchman, and he was a Broad Churchman in the sense of his Catholicity and modernness of thought.

In the earlier time, before he was finally overwhelmed by the multiplicity of his practical duties, he dreamed of writing a book which he called *Progress in Creation*, and for that he gathered notes. He also collected, apparently with a view to ultimate publication, a mass of notes on liturgies, a subject in which he was deeply interested. His lines of thought, like his tastes in literature, were both Catholic and unexpected. Besides these fragmentary notes he left quite extensive but very personal journals of his travels, a few stories and descriptions published in *The Sheltering Arms Paper*, and a couple of printed sermons and addresses.

It is not easy for a son to write impartially an estimate of his father's life and work. I have tried to sketch his manifold activities and through them depict the character of the man. Let me sum up the record by quoting from the memorial sermon preached in this church shortly after his death, by the Rev. Arthur Brooks, D.D.:

It was a rectorate which had more than its length to make it remarkable; in fact it was long, because it was so rich. There could be nothing to tempt a man to change his parish when he was large-minded enough to see all the possibilities of the future, and to anticipate them with eagerness and fertility of resource, and to rejoice in the thought and antici-

pation of the crop while he was yet placing the seed in the ground. It was a rectorate of which others would not tire, since he himself was the one to anticipate each new emergency and to lead his people into new duties when he was seventy years old, just as he did at thirty. As the field grew, the man grew, and rooted himself more deeply, and showed no signs of decay at root or at top. He founded new churches and was anxious that every want of a growing church should be met rather than that he or his parish should retain all its dignities or privileges. And yet with all this view of the future, he prepared for it by always living in the present. He was the father of his people in all their interests; he saw the children's children come forward to fill the places of fathers and grandfathers and he knew them all by name. He added to the duties of a scattered and ever-growing parish, services at asylums and institutions which were in his neighborhood, saying, as he once did to me, that such services carried to where the people really needed and could use them seemed to him truer work than to hold them where and when the people could not come. And out of that work for the neglected, the destitute, and the demented grew first the Mission to Public Institutions and then that noble work of the City Mission Society by reason of which our Church stands foremost in going after that which is lost until it is found. He pitied the wretchedness and destitution of the poor in the sad hour of bereavement, and by the establishment of St. Michael's Cemetery gave comfort to a host of mourning souls, and a resting place to the Church's dead. He was the parish minister in the sense of the word "parish" which means the ground about one's home, and he was the parish minister in the old ecclesiastical sense which refers it to nothing less than the dimensions of a diocese. He worked at home with a diligence and thoroughness which overlooked no details. He illustrated the true character of the parish system, not as an embodiment of selfishness, but as the possession of a fixed point of responsibility and influence from which

effort could diverge unlimitedly in every direction. And as he worked thus, the whole world became his home and his parish.

Perhaps no feature of Dr. Peters's life is more interesting than his relation to the currents of thought which, while he labored here, swept over the Church and the country. In his early ministry he felt the influences of the Oxford movement, and at once took not only many of its doctrinal positions, but especially and most notably all that it could give him for assistance in his work. Elaborated ritual, multiplied services, sisterhoods, free churches, all these were features in his ministry, with the desire of reaching a larger number of souls and of attracting attention to the Church's position and work in the community. Many features of Church life which are now familiar, or were long ago left behind by new developments with which Dr. Peters could not keep pace, were first in use in what was then the little known and obscure parish of St. Michael's. But closely connected, both in time and character, with this movement in the theological world came another—that which was identified with the names of Arnold and of Stanley, and with the school of large sympathy with new methods of investigation and statement; and the advantages which all such thought promised Dr. Peters also perceived and claimed for his own use. He rejoiced, even when he could not sympathize, with men who found a new method of approach for divine truth to the minds of their brethren, and the career and words of men who alarmed others gave him satisfaction as they advanced the Lord's cause.

And not only theological thought and investigation, but the enlarged scientific knowledge of the day commanded his deepest interest. His reading on the street cars, as he went back and forth on his ceaseless activity and unnumbered errands of love and mercy, was the periodical entitled *Nature*, and it surprised his fellow clergy, who understood little of the working of his mind when he presented for their consideration comments on scientific progress, rather

than details of Church work or discussion of theological statements.

This was the depth of Dr. Peters's thought and nature. As then we turn to his achievements of charity and of philanthropy, which are the wonder and admiration of men to-day, we cannot be surprised when we find them not spasmodic efforts or temporary outbursts of feeling. This man who was moved by the sight, which all other passers-by neglected, of the blind child weeping on the steps of the City Hall, to begin a work for children which is the glory of New York to-day, once told me that he distrusted the use of that word "feeling," and avoided it whenever he was able to do so. He saw the need of our growing city and our developing civilization with its multitudes of bright but destitute children; it stirred him to his depths, just as by the use of that mysterious word which no one is able fully to translate, St. John tells us that Jesus was moved with indignation at the grave of Lazarus, and every faculty of body, mind and spirit responded to the call; intellect and activity were all there as well as feeling. And so he laid his plans deep and broad; he founded the Sheltering Arms; he rescued from misuse the public appropriations for the Children's Fold and the Shepherd's Fold, and gave those institutions a new existence; he reorganized the failing Home for Consumptives; he reinvigorated the City Mission Society, which, with good intentions but little knowledge, had hitherto accomplished little for the growing missionary demands of this great city; he enlisted the assistance of rectors and parishes, and when, partly as the result of the very impulse which he had given, those very parishes became absorbed in their own growing work, he gathered together devoted laymen from all parishes, and utilized for his purposes material which otherwise would have lain idle. He calmly proposed great undertakings which appalled younger hearts and made the enterprising men of New York tremble. He took the breath of other men away very often, but always kept

his own breath. He saw those enterprises which he had begun accomplished, only to come forward with some new plan, the result of the former, the outgrowth of their success, the sequel to their wisdom, and still more worthy of this great metropolis as a field of Christian work.

The wide parochialism of Dr. Peters went beyond the limits of the city in which he lived, wherever the Church which he loved was called to labor. The diocese and its welfare he endeavored to assist and strengthen by his strong advocacy of division. At one of the Church Congresses he pleaded for proportionate representation of all the dioceses in the General Convention, and the last of his many and extended foreign tours produced a discussion upon Foreign Missions which was full of helpful suggestions. It was impossible for any one person to agree with a man who made himself felt in so many fields and whose views were so decided on all practical points, and who so persistently held to a purpose when his mind was made up upon it. But he was the most modest of men, seeking advice from men frequently far younger and less experienced than himself, and friendship was never broken by difference of opinion.

Among those who stood close to him in fellowship of work and in deepest affection were men of the most diverse opinion, and from them all he was ready for every remonstrance and criticism.

In the midst of all these activities and interests who of us have not envied the calm, quiet demeanor, the steady perseverance, the perfect courtesy, the unfaltering faith, the devoted attention to details which never wearied or obscured the hold upon large principles. Doubtless, his natural temperament, which tended to earnestness rather than enthusiasm, was behind it all; but back of that temperament, interpreting it, vitalizing it, inspiring it, was the calm, unshaken faith in God and in the Gospel of the Incarnate Christ. He never doubted of the victory of truth and of good. He could labor and could wait, he could

undertake all desperate undertakings, say all unpopular things, receive truths of most varied character, because the Master of all thought and action was with him and he ever felt about him the presence of Him "who reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly ordereth all things." It was here that the power of his life lay for men of other characters and other pursuits. The strength that belonged to him never came from what he did or what he was; it lay in that living energy and wisdom behind the man which never let one particle of power, of inherited strength, of acquired equipment, of natural energy and wisdom remain unused or purposeless, but sent them forward in the service of God and of Christ and of the Church, without a moment of hesitation or of doubt. That universal power he gave to men in his example, and in all the contact of his life, for he told them of the power of his Master and of theirs. On every side have been felt the beauty and the appropriateness of that death which was given him, for it does often seem as if God delighted to send for His servants just the chariot which suited their lives and natures best when He would take them to Himself. Calmly he died as he lived—not at home, but while doing the errands of the Lord, seeking the scattered sheep, the country congregation, the children in a summer home, but among friends, as he always was, he found the entrance to that road of larger service on which his feet now move beyond our sight.

He died engaged in works of mercy. On a very hot Saturday in August, 1893, as usual at his post, while others took their vacations, he went up to inspect Mt. Minturn, and, after spending the afternoon there, was driven over to Tarrytown, from which place he took the train to Peekskill, where he was wont every year to go and preach in a little mission in which his friend, Mr. Field, was interested. He sat late on the piazza of Mr. Field's house, enjoying the cool

air from the river and then went to a house across the street, where he was to spend the night. In the morning he was found dead, lying peacefully, as he was wont to sleep, on his side, his face on the palm of his hand. The news reached the church just as the morning service was about to begin.

Dr. Peters's funeral attested the love of the congregation for their rector. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew kept watch with the body in the church all night. Bishop Coleman of Delaware celebrated early Communion for the family and immediate friends. At the funeral service proper Bishop Potter officiated, assisted by many of the clergy. The church was decked with flowers. The chimes rang out the glad hymns which Dr. Peters loved, and the choir sang the songs of triumph of the saints. There was no sign or symbol of the mourning, which with his firm belief in immortality and the nearness of the next world he so abhorred for himself and others. The church itself was packed with great crowds, especially of the poor people of the neighborhood, without distinction of creed. Bishop Seymour accompanied the body to the grave, and said the committal there, just as the sun was sinking to its rest. He was buried in St. Michael's Cemetery, which he himself had founded, in death not divided from those for whom he had labored.

His great outward memorials are St. Michael's Cemetery, the Sheltering Arms, the City Mission, and this Church. Here his family erected in his memory an altar bearing this inscription:

To the Glory of God
and
In Memory of
THOMAS MCCLURE PETERS, Priest.

As a further memorial the Parish House was erected the first half by subscription of the congregation and friends, the second half by his eldest son. On the front, above the door, stands the inscription:

St. Michael's
Parish House
To the Service of God
In Memory of
THOMAS McCLURE PETERS
Rector 1858-1893

A wife and eleven children survived him. Mrs. Peters had been his helpmeet in the parish work. In her father's rectorship, when she was a child of fourteen, so small that her feet could not reach the pedals, she commenced to play the organ in the first church. From that time to the day of her death she worked with her father and her husband in parochial work. She died December 28, 1905. In the Chapel of the Angels is a window given as a memorial by the women of the parish. The subject chosen for the window was St. Cecilia, in recognition of Mrs. Peters's relation to the music of the parish. The tablet beneath the window bears this inscription:

To the Glory of God,
In Loving Memory of
ALICE CLARISSA RICHMOND PETERS
Daughter, Wife, Mother of three successive Rectors.
Her life was an inspiration to them
and to the parish.

Dr. Peters's second son succeeded him as rector of the parish. His eldest son has been a warden of the church and treasurer since 1874. One of his daughters,

Miss Julia Peters, who was his secretary and assistant during his lifetime, has since his death been the Parish Visitor, entrusted with the administration of the charity funds and the work among the poor. Others of his children are still parishioners and workers in the parish.

NOTE.—REPORT OF DR. PETERS TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE
SHELTERING ARMS IN THE MATTER OF THE SISTERS.

GENTLEMEN:

Having been requested by the Executive Committee to lay before the Trustees at their Annual Meeting the history of the connection of the Sisters of St. Mary with "The Sheltering Arms," I beg leave to offer to the Board the following report, including my thoughts and motives, subject to the inaccuracies attendant upon every effort which rests in great degree upon human memory.

A twenty-years' connection with Public Institutions has necessarily revealed to me much of the internal management of these establishments. It could not escape the eye of a constant visitor that in our Charitable Institutions there is with some favorable exceptions nothing homelike and attractive, little that is refining or civilizing, much of selfishness and neglect. The difficulty of procuring Matrons and female assistants who are honest, temperate, and conscientious in the discharge of duty has been discouraging to managing boards and in one case at least defeated the attempt to found a new and needed charity. Embarrassments of the kind referred to interfered with the growth and usefulness of Mrs. Richmond's House of Mercy, begetting even in the mind of that determined woman apprehension lest her efforts should finally fail owing to the want of proper persons to conduct the internal affairs of the House.

In the summer of 1863 it was suggested that the Sisters who had recently left St. Luke's Hospital might perhaps take charge both of the House of Mercy and of some

departments in another Charity in which I was interested. Two of the Sisters called on me and so far as concerned the House of Mercy preliminary negotiations were left to me the first Rector of this City to take the unemployed ladies by the hand and introduce them again to work; the result being that upon nearly their own terms the House of Mercy was delivered over to their charge.

Desiring to have the Sisters officially acknowledged and established upon a firm foundation, I suggested to the Bishop the appointment of a committee of clergymen to consider the subject, and this proposition being approved by the Bishop, at his desire I named to him all the clergy excepting myself who acted on the commission. These gentlemen were the present Bishops of Western New York and Long Island, also Drs. Tuttle and Dix; the Bishop doing me the honor to include me among the number. A report was made by this Committee to the Bishop in reply to a series of written questions from him. The Bishop decided to recognize and organize the Sisterhood of Saint Mary and in my own Church of St. Michael in the City of New York it was inaugurated with five members.

This short sketch of history will make manifest the early and active interest taken by me in the formation, recognition, and work of the Sisters.

The order and good management introduced by these devoted ladies into the House of Mercy led me to the conclusion that could such superintendence be everywhere secured the common evils of our Charities would cease to exist. Early in the year 1864 a new want presented itself, which was of an Asylum for children temporarily homeless. Upon consulting the Sisters it appeared that the present Superior of the Sisterhood had already revolved in her own mind the subject of an Institution for children on the broadest platform. She had thought that such an Institution ought not to be what is termed denominational, but that it should be left free of access for religious teaching to all Protestant ministers and thus the interest and support

of the whole community be assured. Long observation had convinced me that whatever advantages might attend this system were more than counterbalanced by the ill effects upon the children themselves, and that if intended as a home the inmates should as in any family home have a defined Church connection and pastoral care.

The assistance of persons not of our own Church was asked and received but with the distinct understanding that the children should be trained according to the usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Upon these considerations a few persons not Episcopalians entered the Board of Trustees and the Ladies' Association, and numerous contributions have every year been sent in by increasing numbers of the charitable with little regard to religious connection. One of the five-thousand-dollar donations for the cottages was from a well-known member of All Souls Church under care of Dr. Bellows, Unitarian.

The Sisters accepted the internal management of the Institution, readily waiving their own wishes, and carrying out the intention of the Trustees. The apartments necessary for the accommodation of the Sisters were placed under their own control and not subject to visitation as part of the Institution by the Trustees. To the rooms occupied by them was added eighteen months later a room to be fitted up by themselves at their own expense and used as an oratory. While Sisters of the Holy Communion they had been allowed for their private devotions a room called by the same name, and it seemed a reasonable request which the President took upon himself to grant. I have from the first regarded all the apartments assigned to the Sisters as entirely their own as though they lived in a neighboring house and came to the Sheltering Arms to do their work.

The Sisters having, as already stated, yielded their own preferences have ever faithfully fulfilled their part. The changes in theological views, costume, and devotional usages never in any way interfered with their training of

the children, which has continued according to the original agreement.

The first thought which I can now recall of a separation of the Sisters from the Institution arose after a conversation with the Superior in the year 1867. It was given as her opinion that the Sisters ought to have Institutions of their own, in which opinion for the solid and permanent establishing of the Sisterhood itself I could not but agree. In some other important points, one of which was the main object of founding Sisterhoods, there had arisen between us at that time a divergence of sentiment. In revolving over the whole subject in my mind there arose the unwelcome shadow of a possible departure of the Sisterhood from The Sheltering Arms. Were they to establish their own Institutions, those Institutions under their own control, unhampered by Committees and Trustees, would, it seemed to me, become necessarily the first interest of the Sisters, and certainly none could blame them in leaving fields where against their own inclinations they were obliged to carry out others' directions for the free labor of their own choice. Again I could not altogether divest myself of the apprehension that the divergence of sentiment above referred to might as its distant result lead to a separation between the Sisters and our Institution. It has been my life-long habit in every relation to think out and if in my power prepare for every possible contingency. Accordingly at that time I communicated to a lady, in whose capacity I greatly trusted, the uneasy fear possessing me and my intention of turning to her in case of extremity. To that precaution of two years and more ago we owe the ready relief which enabled us to meet the sudden emergency of April. A long time after I spoke upon the subject to another friend whose assistance I should be glad in any difficulty to receive. These acts were, however, prompted by no desire to part with the Sisters, but rather like an insurance against fire or a life insurance, a safeguard against calamity which threatened in an uncertain future.

At The Sheltering Arms everything pursued its happy and prosperous course. At times the Sisters were annoyed by observations and questions from visitors regarding their dress and usages, but as we could neither refuse admission to any one nor direct their thoughts nor control their criticisms those annoyances, while exciting our sympathy for those subjected to them, seemed in a public Institution incurable.

Early in the present year the Institution was removed to its new home in Manhattanville, and at about the same time the public attention was drawn towards The Sheltering Arms in consequence of the proposition to hold a Grand Bazaar.

Owing to the constant presence in the new building of workmen engaged in supplying deficiencies which could not well be remedied until the building was occupied, the promised public reception was not held until two months after the removal. The Sisters were worn and harassed by extra labor and heavy cares and had little time or strength left to devote to visitors. Many came, however, and among them not a few attracted by the desire to see for themselves how far and how widely circulating rumors had foundation and to ask information regarding the Sisterhood. So uncomplaining, however, were the Sisters under their many grievances that the President first heard in town that they were examined and cross-questioned in an exceedingly irritating manner by persons who seemed to them to have come rather as enemies to the Sisterhood than as friends to The Sheltering Arms. Nevertheless visitors could not be refused admission; and I accordingly recommended as the only possible course for avoiding unpleasant interviews that if every other means failed they must leave the reception and showing about of visitors to other parties not Sisters residing in the House.

In the meantime symptoms of the great agitation prevailing in the City with regard to The Sheltering Arms began to make themselves manifest in the numerous questions

proposed, some of which I was unable to answer; in the extraordinary and extravagant tales regarding proceedings in the Institution, most of which I was able to deny. I resolved at that time by word and pen to reply to friends, but taking no notice of flying rumors and resisting the pressure from newspapers and hostile attacks say and do as little as possible, and carefully avoid any course which might appear to have been taken under a mercenary desire of influencing the receipts of the Bazaar, and let the assistance which by that means the public might render us spring from their confidence in the piety, respectability, and honor of this Board. In an article prepared in the middle of February for "The Sheltering Arms Paper" I thus expressed myself: "The list of Trustees is an answer to detraction; read over those names, pausing at each to recall the character and position of its owner and nothing more will be necessary." I added: "Information regarding the Institution can always be obtained upon application to the President. None asking for it has ever been refused or unsatisfied with the reply."

During the two months and more preceding the Bazaar I was in receipt of many letters to which in every case I replied precisely and to the utmost of my knowledge. It became soon apparent that the uneasiness regarding the state of things at the Institution had taken hold of some of its old and firm friends, reaching parties who, because of their long and efficient support, were on that account entitled to consideration; who from their personal friendship and attachment to myself had the acknowledged right of friends to question and advise.

The chief cause of mistrust seemed at first to be an impression that confession was among the obligations of members of the Sisterhood. Unable to reply to the question whether this were so, I in February referred a Clergyman asking to the Bishop as Head of the Sisterhood and having the approval of its rules. The reported reply was that the Bishop would allow nothing of the kind, and on the

strength of this statement I instantly replied to the charge that I believed it untrue. By correspondence and conversation I was busily occupied the next few weeks in defending the Sisters so far as regarded their full and faithful discharge of the duty undertaken towards The Sheltering Arms.

As the time for the Bazaar drew nearer the excitement became continually more intense and widely spread and on the 29th day of March to my surprise there reached me by mail a letter of inquiry sent at the desire of the President of the Ladies' Association of Trinity Parish, who found her friends growing lukewarm in their labors because of adverse reports, there being made particular mention of the children's multiplied prayers and the Sisters' confessions. To this letter I returned an answer which was printed, I presume by the parties receiving it, in the *Church Journal* and *Church Weekly*.

The second day after, viz., March 31st, at evening, I received in behalf of the ladies of the Church of the Heavenly Rest a letter much longer and more full written by an old and liberal friend of The Sheltering Arms. This letter stated that the feeling against The Sheltering Arms was growing so strong that the writer feared before the time of the Fair should have arrived a large number of those who began to work for it would have withdrawn. My answer I give here as it replies one by one to specified counts, covers more ground than any other communication, and illustrates my position regarding the Sisterhood:

"I have received your favor of this date and gladly reply to one who (as well as the Sisters) has been an early and constant friend to my Institution.

"Perhaps I did give an undecided answer when speaking of the Sisters, because I am not called upon or prepared to defend their good taste and good sense in many little matters. I believe, however, that their offenses are only against those uncertain as to Sisters. I have never thought it worth while to notice any fancies pleasing to

themselves regarding their inexpensive dress. If they paraded around here in silks, satins, and jewelry, or in any demoralizing style of costume, as very low necks and short sleeves, I might remonstrate. I do not like the dress but that is as I said a question, in my view, of taste. They do wear a cord and tassel around their waist, indicating, as a visitor told me they informed her, that the Sisters were bound together in loving accord.

“ They wear crosses, but no bleeding heart. Some of the Sisters longest in service have a lily or some other flower in silver on the cross. I believe it indicates a grade in the Sisterhood.

“ No crucifixes are used in the house, excepting anything which may be in the Sisters' rooms, and there of course I do not go and have no knowledge as to their furniture or arrangements. The only exceptions as to crucifixes in the old house were my own, given to me by a friend, a Presbyterian Missionary, who brought it from Jerusalem. It is of course dear to me, not only as an emblem of my crucified Lord, but also from the gathered recollections of thirty years. Sister Sarah saw it and was much pleased. Since then she has one of her own.

“ As to burning candles before either of these crucifixes, I believe it to be an utter falsehood. There may be other crucifixes, but I know nothing of them.

“ As to confession and the children being trained to it, they are certainly not trained to conceal their faults, but as to any other confession than is common in all families and schools, there is none with us.

“ If the Sisters go to confession to ‘a mortal priest,’ I am not that mortal, and no other clergyman visits or officiates here. I cannot say that they do not practise confession elsewhere, but I do not believe they do. I do not question them about their private affairs, with which I have no concern, but I do direct and regulate The Sheltering Arms and can reply to all questions involving the teaching and training there.

"The Sisters have been daily under my observation for five years and to them the Institution owes much of its success."

Then follow some remarks upon the supposed origin of the reports and the letter concludes thus:

"Write as full inquiries as you please and I will answer them as far as I can. If anything is not like me deny it."

On the morning of the same day, March 31st, I was waited upon by a committee, of which Dr. Morgan was chairman and Dr. Montgomery was a member, representing that the excitement was so great on account of supposed Popish usages at The Sheltering Arms that it was impossible to keep the ladies of the various city parishes up to the work, that one by one they were dropping off, and that there was great danger of the ruin of the Bazaar unless the fever could in some way be calmed, stating moreover that they thought that to make the Bazaar a success the connection of the Sisters with the Institution should be dissolved; that written charges had been laid before them which could be substantiated and would prove the Sisters disloyal to the Church.

They also placed in my hands a letter signed by one whose friendship dates back to the days of boyhood, of another whose intimacy with me is older than my ministry, and by three other clergymen who had also manifested since holding their rectorships the fullest confidence in me and had given my various works a hearty and unreserved support. I knew well the kindly feeling of all towards me and their trust in me, and also their interest in The Sheltering Arms. At a public meeting in his Sunday School room I had within a few days heard the rector of the Church of the Incarnation give an account of his recent visit to the Institution and express great pleasure with what he had there seen. I fully understood that their object in calling upon me was to aid to the utmost the Institution of which I was head.

The letter handed to me was stated to represent the

opinions of others engaged in sustaining preparations for the Bazaar but who were not present when the paper was drawn up. A document from such source merited my serious attention and received it. It is as follows:

NEW YORK, March 31, 1870.

DEAR DR. PETERS:

Some of your personal friends and brother clergymen who are warmly interested in the success of the Bazaar for "The Sheltering Arms" find themselves very much embarrassed in their work for the Bazaar by certain reports affecting the practises and usages of the "Sisterhood of St. Mary" in its relation to "The Sheltering Arms."

Under these circumstances they feel called upon by their duty to their Parishioners and to their Church to request you to have a thorough investigation made by the Trustees of "The Sheltering Arms" at the earliest possible moment; so that the Sisterhood, if found disloyal to the doctrines and usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church, may be required to withdraw from all connection with "The Sheltering Arms."

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

WILLIAM F. MORGAN,
H. E. MONTGOMERY,
SAMUEL COOKE,
E. A. WASHBURN,
H. C. POTTER.

To the remarks of these gentlemen I replied that in asking me to part with the Sisters they were asking too much; that the Sisters had made The Sheltering Arms possible; that from first to last they had deferred to my wishes in everything relating to the training of the children; that as my friends I should stand by them, and those gentlemen themselves would think meanly of me were I to act otherwise; that I believed the charges false; and that, moreover, if things were as stated the remedy was of another kind, the

Bishop being both Visitor of The Sheltering Arms and Head of The Sisterhood of St. Mary and in these capacities possessed of the power to remove abuses and reform irregularities. I also stated that as President of the Institution I should demand a copy of the charges referred to, intending both on the Sisters' account and on our own to lay it before the Trustees.

To the letter I made the following reply:

NEW YORK, March 31, 1870.

GENTLEMEN:

I have this day received your communication regarding the Sisterhood of St. Mary in its relation to The Sheltering Arms. I am not unaware of the damaging rumors and reports in general circulation, and which I believe to be utterly false.

I shall be glad to promote an investigation which may relieve the Institution and the Sisterhood from any imputation of disloyalty to our Church, and do not doubt that if the rumors be found correct, the Trustees will unanimously resolve to sever the connection between the Sisterhood of St. Mary and The Sheltering Arms. I will lay your paper before the Trustees at their Annual Meeting to be held in May and ask that proper action be taken.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

T. M. PETERS.

President of "The Sheltering Arms."

To the Rev. Wm. F. Morgan
and the Rev. H. E. Montgomery.

This letter of the Committee and also the reply were both hastily written and I myself took no copy of either, as the Committee thought they would probably be printed and copies multiplied. I requested copies to be sent me as soon as possible in order that I might, as seemed just, send

word at the earliest day to the Sisters, who ought to be informed of the progress of events.

At my request Dr. Morgan has since written me his recollections of the interview detailed above, as follows:

Easter Even, April 16, 1870.

MY DEAR DR. PETERS:

Upon returning from Church, I find your letter. I have a very distinct recollection of all that you said in reference to the Sisters, and was much impressed by the high toned and honorable manner in which you declared your confidence in them, your obligations to them, and your determination not to do them wrong in any wise, until you had sufficient cause. Everything you said on the subject of alleged disloyalty to our Church on their part was intended to be a shield and explanation for them. Distinctly too I remember this declaration falling from you, viz., that the Sisters had been true to you, yielding gracefully to your wishes and directions, carrying out your plans, and promoting your influence, and that you would not violate your own instincts of gratitude and regard so far as to dismiss them or wound them, unless for a very sufficient reason.

At the same time you did not deprecate an investigation, but rather favored it, being satisfied that the Sisters would pass the ordeal without harm.

I am glad to do you justice in this matter, and I am very sure that Dr. Montgomery will endorse all I have written.

The whole subject has got before the public in a false and exaggerated shape. There was no disposition on the part of any of the Clergymen who acted in the premises, to prejudge the Sisters, or condemn them unheard. Certain rumors and written reports were in circulation, calculated to damage the Institution and destroy the prospects of the Bazaar, and our only object was to get at the truth and do what seemed possible to save The Sheltering Arms from evil report and the Bazaar from collapse.

Faithfully your friend and brother,

WILLIAM F. MORGAN.

It will be readily understood why I was unwilling at that time to call a special meeting of the Trustees. To have called a meeting of the Board for the purpose of expressing confidence in the Sisters would have implied that there was reason to doubt their possessing that confidence. To have called a meeting regarding the Sisters upon the eve of the Bazaar would have been interpreted as aiming by our action to influence the receipts of the Bazaar. It seemed to me unbecoming and undignified in us to take such a step, and that all the public needed to know was who are the Trustees, not what action do they propose. Moreover I was not disposed to call a meeting of the Trustees amidst the commotion then prevailing, because it was hardly possible that the subject to be discussed should meet with the cool deliberation which it required.

I next directed my thoughts to the action which the Trustees would be likely to take when the subject of the Sisterhood and its usages should come before them.

The charge that the Sisters were disloyal to our Church was general and to be proved must rest upon the sustaining of other and particular charges. To some of the various questions proposed I could give no satisfactory reply, as they referred to the rules of the Sisterhood, of which I had no copy and which I understood to be known only to full members of the Sisterhood or their official ecclesiastical superiors. I did not feel that I had any more than any other person the right to enquire into matters not relating to their connection with The Sheltering Arms, and as they were aware that in some of their views and usages my sympathies did not go with them I refrained in general from asking questions which they might not wish to answer and would probably receive as implying on my part an adverse criticism. Our intercourse had ever been kindly and I desired that it might ever so continue. But further I thought and still believe that their attachment to our Church was manifest and decided, and neither did nor do doubt that they would sacrifice individual preferences or

abandon cherished practices in obedience to the expressed will of the authority of the Church. Some of the remarks said to have been made by individual members of the Sisterhood I was satisfied had been misunderstood and that it would so appear upon full inquiry.

It was of course impossible to foresee the exact turn which matters might take in the Board, but it seemed probable, inasmuch as great stress had been laid upon certain apparent and other alleged facts regarding costumes and devotions, that these points would be brought up before the Trustees. After a full consideration of the objection to the Sisters' dress I could not suppose that the Trustees would conclude that we had any direction in that matter, inasmuch as ladies mature enough to take care of our children were of age to regulate their own costumes; or that if the Trustees should see fit to enter into further inquiries regarding the habit they would discover heresy in a cord more than in a belt, or anything worse than bad taste in preferring one style of collar to another.

With regard to the private devotional usages of the Sisters, even if the statement regarding confession proved true, it also seemed to me that the Trustees would not place themselves in the awkward position of passing sentence upon the Sisters on those accounts, because by such action they would commit themselves to an inquisitorial course in which neither their own judgment nor the public could long sustain them. If we claimed the right of regulating the Sisters' devotions when by themselves, we might with as good reason direct their bedside or closet prayers. And if because of such interference the Sisters were to leave us, as they certainly would, then we should be under the necessity of including it among the qualifications of persons employed in the Institution that they should never say their prayers with their faces on the floor and not be allowed at their desire to go to confession. And further, if for any such reasons as these we were to wish the Sisters to leave

their charge, it would be not because they were not faithful in their care of the children and true to their agreement with us, but because they had, since undertaking our work, adopted some private religious practises contrary to our own views of what was expedient and right. And this would leave us not only under the necessity of examining upon these points all who might hereafter be proposed for the charge of the House, but, inasmuch as our next ladies would be as liable to change as our late Sisters, we should also commit ourselves to a system of occasional or periodical investigation as to the orthodoxy and devotional customs of all in responsible position in the Institution. In fine, the embarrassments in which we should be involved were we to take up this question of the private religious exercises of the ladies are so overwhelming that it seemed to me the only course possible for the Trustees would be to pass this subject altogether by and enter upon inquiry as to how they were doing our work, for which alone they were responsible to the Executive Committee. As to their thoroughness and faithfulness in this relation there could be but one mind. And as I could, moreover, from intimate personal acquaintance with the Sister in charge of The Sheltering Arms and also with her occasional substitute, testify that they had always manifested the most simple and profound love to Christ and desire to serve and honor Him, there seemed thus far little room to anticipate condemnatory action by this Board.

Upon one other cause of complaint against the Sisters I did not feel the same confidence that this Board would take my view, namely the fitting up of the Sisters' Oratory. My own ground with regard to this Oratory had been, as already stated, that in crossing its threshold the ladies were in the privacy of their own apartments and beyond the control of this Board and its committees. I had myself, in compliance with the wish of the Sisters, celebrated the Holy Communion in the Oratory of the old building at times when it was for some reason inconvenient to hold the

service in Church. The arrangements had never disturbed my devotions, although I cannot but look upon the peace and unity of the Church as the great desire of true Christians, calling for an entire abnegation of self, and not for a moment to be imperilled by following out pleasing fancies or personal inclinations in self gratification. It was the Sisters' Oratory, however, and not my church or chapel. No servant or child in the Institution took part in the services or so far as I know had ever entered them. With regard to the Oratory in the new building, I had never been in it since the building was occupied nor asked when it would be in order or how arranged. I thought it, however, possible that the Board might consider itself bound to know the contents and regulate the arrangements of any room beneath our roof, or that if the Sisters were to be left entirely free in their sleeping chambers a room for devotional purposes would be one for whose appearance and proprieties we should be held accountable. It had been once intimated to me on the part of the Sisterhood that any restrictions upon their Oratory arrangements would be considered sufficient cause for leaving The Sheltering Arms. Desiring to avoid a collision which would lead to the departure of these ladies, I spoke one day to the Head Sister of The Sheltering Arms words of this import: "Can you not add one to the many sacrifices you have made for my work by omitting from the Oratory which you are now fitting up all that is offensive to the eye." The reply was: "I should think that people might leave us at least that little corner of the world to ourselves." I thought so too and in pursuance of my stipulation with the Sisters would say nothing further.

Being still disturbed in mind as to what might occur with regard to the Oratory, I decided, after some days, to make one more trial and procure through the recommendation of Dr. Dix, as Pastor of the Sisterhood, that which I could not by my own agreement require and did not feel disposed further to request. Accordingly on the 5th of April I went

to town for the sole purpose of seeing Dr. Dix, and upon this only subject. Finding Dr. Dix at his office, I asked him as Pastor of the Sisterhood to go out to The Sheltering Arms, new building before the reception and advise the Sisters from that day to omit from their Oratory whatever might be offensive to any of our friends. In this mission I believe I failed. Another subject was introduced by Dr. Dix, who referred to a letter written by him (not then received by me) in which he desired to know if the Trustees had an intention after the Bazaar was over of dispensing with the services of the Sisters of Saint Mary. In reply I said that it was upwards of two years since the subject of the Sisterhood had been up in our Board, that the Sisters had always been sustained, the only dissenting member having resigned in consequence; that the subject of the Sisterhood in relation to The Sheltering Arms would come up at our annual meeting in May, because as President I had been officially addressed by a Committee of City Clergy on their account, that while I could not guarantee the action of 20 men upon a subject two years at rest I felt quite easy as to the result. Feeling that it might not be honest in me when the topic was thus introduced to withhold any thought which I had bearing upon it, and that upon my return home I should feel that I ought to have opened my mind more fully to the Pastor of the Sisters, I added with the utmost frankness, and speaking as a devoted friend of the Sisterhood from the beginning and considering their interests as separate from my own, that in my judgment the Sisters would never be in their right position until they had their own Institutions and were not subject to inspection and examinations by Trustees; that while I thought it very good in the Sisters to endure patiently all they had borne for The Sheltering Arms' sake, yet that I did not think it was in human nature to continue it forever, that I had more than once said, in advising them as I would my own sister, my counsel would be to give up a position so full of unpleasantness, adding that it was ever my habit to provide for any

possible contingency, and that for more than two years I had made provision in case the departure of the sisters should at any time occur. Dr. Dix has at my request given me his recollections of that conversation as follows:

"The impression left on my mind by that conversation was, that the position of the Sisters at The Sheltering Arms was precarious; that you looked to separation, and had long been prepared for it; and that, in your judgment, as well as in my own, the Sisters would work to much better advantage in Institutions belonging entirely to them. You did not say, however, that you wished them to leave; yet I think you said, or implied, that you thought it would be better for them to do so, on their own account, though not, of course, at the present time.

"I wrote you on the 3rd of April [the letter which I had not then received] with a view to ascertain whether the Sisters might be expected to remain permanently in charge of The Sheltering Arms. The result of the conversation was to satisfy me that you anticipated separation and thought it probable, in view of the extreme violence of expressions used by an influential member of the Board, and his representations to the Bishop, that the separation might come sooner than you expected or desired. This was what all parties wished to know; the enemies of the Sisters, lest they should be aiding an Institution in which those obnoxious persons served; their friends, lest they should be giving to an Institution presently to undergo a change in its internal management which they must disapprove. The Sisters were placed in a position in which the only course consistent with self-respect seemed to be the one which they took."

Returning home from this interview I found the letter of Dr. Dix, to which, so far as related to the action of the Trustees in reference to the Sisters, I replied in these words:

"I found upon my return home your letter, which I have

twice carefully read. I do not know that I can add in force to what I said to-day, namely that I am quiet in mind and easy as to the result of present attacks. At the same time there are more reasons than one why I must not and cannot be forced to say much."

After some remarks upon an article in the Protestant *Churchman*, to which Dr. Dix in his letter had referred, and which I looked upon as hostile because the churches represented by that paper are supporting an Institution started in opposition to The Sheltering Arms and were, none of them, in the Bazaar, the article being also issued when it was too late for others to come in, but not too late for any of those already in to withdraw. I concluded thus:

"The only thing in your letter to which I object is the suggestion that there can be any such dishonesty on the part of the Trustees as to be acting a concealed and double part. The subject of the Sisterhood has never been before the board since their action of two years ago. When it comes up again I believe they will know who are their friends and what is their duty and will act fairly.

"I thought the little sacrifice I asked to-day would be of great advantage and aid to me."

Had it been my intention to counsel the resignation of the Sisters my course on a previous occasion would indicate that I should take no circuitous means to bring it about. When, in 1867, in St. Barnabas's House, a discussion which I thought would be unpleasant to the Sisters and might lead to their departure seemed inevitable and close at hand, I privately advised them at the close of the year for which at our desire they had undertaken the management of the house to decline its further charge.

Had I considered it better for themselves to follow in this case the same line of action I should plainly and without hesitation have so recommended. On the contrary, as questions regarding the Sisters would necessarily arise sooner or later in every board of Trustees with which they

were connected, I thought it better for the Sisters to remain at their post and that their relation to the Church and its work might as well be decided now and here as in the future and elsewhere.

On Thursday, the day of reception at The Sheltering Arms, several of the Sisters were at the Institution and I observed nothing to attract attention, with the exception of a want of the accustomed cordiality on the part of the Superior, leading me to suppose her offended, although the cause was unknown.

On Friday evening, April 8th, I received the following communication:

TO THE REVEREND DR. PETERS,

President of the Board of Trustees of "The Sheltering Arms."

REVEREND SIR,

The Sisters of St. Mary hear that great agitation and criticism prevail on the subject of "The Sheltering Arms," and they are informed that it is feared the present effort to raise funds may result in failure in consequence of their connection with the Institution.

They have reason to suppose that some of the Trustees would feel greatly relieved by the withdrawal of the Sisters, and they accordingly resign their charge; the resignation to take effect within ten days from date.

SISTER HARRIET

Superior, Sisters St. Mary.

41 West 46th Street.

April 8, 1870.

And on Saturday morning, April 9th, I sent to Sister Harriet a letter of which this is the copy:

Broadway and 101st Street.

DEAR SISTER HARRIET,

Last night's mail brought in more than its usual share of communications friendly and hostile stirred up by The

Sheltering Arms Bazaar. Among the former class I trust that I may ever be able to place letters from Sister Harriet.

It is very true as you say that great excitement prevails. I presume it is also true that some of the Trustees do feel as you indicate. How many they may be I cannot tell; as it is over two years since the subject of the connection of the Sisterhood with The Sheltering Arms came before the Trustees. I should be surprised and disappointed, however, if the Board or upon full discussion any member of it fails to see that we owe our success to the care of the Sisterhood. To a committee of clergymen, Dr. Morgan being Chairman, I replied in words that the Sisterhood had made the Institution possible and I could not turn against my friends. To the letter brought by the Committee I replied also by letter. The communication and reply would for your information have been sent to you had I received the extra copies of them from Dr. Morgan. As soon as I can procure them you shall have copies.

The subject necessarily comes once again before the Trustees of "The Sheltering Arms." The more I recall what you have been to us the fuller is my conviction that there can be in the Board but one opinion and one possible conclusion.

Your communication is also for the Board. When the annual meeting occurs in May will be as early as it is possible for us fully and calmly to deliberate and act. I do not want you to leave now or to have it known that you contemplate it. Whatever possible gain it might be to our treasury does not influence me. Friends are dearer than money and cannot be bought. I received by the same mail with your favor the name of one who contributed \$500 to the Institution two months ago and would now like his money back. I shall send it to him and would not, to save it, say that you proposed leaving.

If people will not give from confidence in the Board of

Trustees without reference to details of management, I do not think anything will be gained by shifting sail to suit every breeze.

With regard to the Sisters themselves I have long felt that their position was a false one and must cease. They have been necessarily somewhat, perhaps you will say much, restrained and hampered here. But far worse than that they have been the object of suspicion, of unkind remark, and impertinent curiosity, from which in a public Institution we had no power to relieve them. I have said more than once that my advice to the Sisters would be, go and establish your own Institutions which you can control yourselves and in which the public can help or not as inclined. This I say not in the interest of my Institution but of the Sisterhood. For myself I shall reckon their departure a calamity.

Nevertheless I have for two years foreseen that an ultimate separation was probable and have thought upon the course which it might be necessary to take. It would have been short sighted and improvident for me to act otherwise. When you withdraw from me to establish your own charities I shall not oppose or object. I do not want you, however, to go on the money question. I do not want you to withdraw on account of any supposed wish of the Trustees, unless you have reasons unknown to me for believing that wish to be wider spread among them than I suppose.

Above all I do not wish you to go in a hurry, and shall say nothing about this affair until the matter comes before our Board, unless you write me again desiring another course.

Very respectfully and truly

T. M. PETERS.

On Monday, April 11th, I received to my letter this return:

TO THE REVEREND DR. PETERS.

REVEREND SIR,

Yours of April 9th is at hand.

The Sisters of St. Mary will leave "The Sheltering Arms"

on Easter Monday, April 18th, as intimated in my note of April 8th.

SISTER HARRIET

Superior, Sisters of St. Mary.

41 West 46th Street,
April 11th, 1870

A meeting of the Executive Committee had been called that day for another purpose, and before that meeting I laid all three of the foregoing papers.

After some discussion the following resolution was adopted and the Committee adjourned to meet on Wednesday, April 13th.

"Resolved that the Executive Committee of 'The Sheltering Arms' has heard with much surprise and regret that the ladies in charge of the house have determined to resign, and sincerely trust that they will recall the same and express fully to the President their reasons for so doing." According to the instructions contained in the resolution I waited upon the Superior of the Sisters and was told that there were no reasons to give beyond those contained in the first communications, and that that action was final. She however told me before leaving that we had failed to protect the Sisters and that I should have before called a meeting of the Board of Trustees. This report being made to the Executive Committee meeting of Wednesday, they decided that it was inexpedient and unnecessary to convene the Board, and, accepting the departure of the Sisters as inevitable, appointed a Commission of three to conduct the House until the meeting of the Board.

Thus after more than five years of friendly and happy relations the connection of the Sisters with The Sheltering Arms has been suddenly and unexpectedly severed. During all of that period they have given us their services free of compensation, and introduced a good order and system which we shall be fortunate if we can always maintain.

None so well as he who for almost the whole of that time has been daily at the Institution can know the full debt of

gratitude we owe. None knows so well as he the anxiety they have spared us, at what sacrifice often of feeling and inclination they have consistently shaped their conduct by our desires.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. PETERS,
President of the Board of Trustees
of "The Sheltering Arms."

NEW YORK, May 9, 1870.

CHAPTER XIII

SIXTH RECTOR

REV. JOHN PUNNETT PETERS

1893

JOHN PUNNETT PETERS was born December 16, 1852, in the house which had originally belonged to Garrit Van Horne, one of the founders of St. Michael's Church, situated on what is now the southwest corner of Broadway and 94th Street. He was the second son and third child of Thomas McClure Peters and Alice Clarissa Richmond, his wife.

He made choice of the ministry in his early childhood, primarily to please his father, because he had heard the latter express a desire that one of his sons should be a clergyman. The choice once made dominated his studies and his thoughts from that time forward. He was trained first in Church Schools, at Manhattanville (where Rev. S. H. Hilliard and Bishop Seymour were among his teachers), and the Church of the Transfiguration in 29th Street. A sickly child, the long daily journey to the latter school broke him down entirely, and after a year's rest, when his elder brother, William, went to Yale, he was entered in the next to the highest class at the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven.



REV. JOHN PUNNETT PETERS
Sixth Rector, 1893-

Here he stayed almost a year, and then again broke down. The next two years he spent partly in Great Barrington, Mass., partly in Bloomingdale, living largely an out-of-door life, and pursuing somewhat desultory studies by himself and with tutors. He finally entered Yale at the age of sixteen, graduating in the class of 1873. The General Theological Seminary was then distinctly retroactive and obscurantist, a veritable house of darkness, and although Dr. Thomas Peters was a graduate of the institution and one of its trustees, and the Dean of the Seminary was his warm friend and his son's former teacher, he preferred that his son should not study there. He wished him to learn what men were thinking and to think for himself. Young Peters was anxious to do special work in linguistics in connection with his theological studies. Accordingly, with his Bishop's consent, it was arranged that he should pursue graduate studies at Yale, and at the same time, partly in the theological school of that university and partly by outside reading, prepare himself in theology for his canonical examinations. Peters's original desire was to prepare for work in the foreign mission field; but his own experiences in the study of the Old Testament, revealing the almost universal ignorance of the actual character and contents of the old Hebrew sacred books then prevailing in the Church, convinced him that it was his duty to devote himself to the study and exposition of those books. For this purpose he required a scientific knowledge of Hebrew and the cognate languages. It was at that time impossible to acquire such knowledge in this country, and in fact the scientific study of the Semitic languages anywhere left much to be desired. After consultation with the best authorities, it seemed desirable that Peters should

learn the comparative method of language study as applied to the Indo-European languages, at the same time studying the Semitic languages as far as possible, and then later pursue his studies in Semitic languages at some foreign university. He made his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in course at Yale in 1876, in Sanskrit (as major), Greek and Comparative Philology, together with Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic. During this period he had supported himself by private tutoring. For the next three years, until 1879, he was a tutor in Yale College, teaching Greek and occasionally Latin to the Freshman and Sophomore classes, his object in accepting that position being both to ground himself more fully in knowledge, and also to acquire the means to pursue his studies abroad.

In Peters's Freshman year in college the Berkeley Society was organized, a religious association of Church students. Peters took part in the organization and development of this Society, and was active in the mission work which it organized in the George Street Chapel of Trinity Church. Finally, about the time of his graduation from college, he found himself at the head of a large mission Sunday School at that place. He was then called upon to conduct religious services in the State Hospital located in New Haven. During his post-graduate course and the period of his tutorship he was in consequence in charge of a considerable mission work, embracing both children and adults, involving the holding of at least three services each Sunday, together with considerable visitation among the sick and poor during the week.

Peters was ordained deacon by Bishop Horatio Potter in Trinity Chapel, New York, on Sunday, July 24, 1876. The first service in which he officiated after

his ordination was, at the request of his old teacher and friend, Bishop Seymour, then Dean of the General Seminary and Chaplain of the House of Mercy, held at the last named institution, then located at the foot of 86th Street, in the afternoon of that same day. His first sermon was preached in St. Michael's Church on Christmas Day, 1876. Peters was ordained priest in St. Michael's Church at the Advent ordination in the following year, and officiated in that church during the rector's holidays in the summers of 1877, 1878, and 1879. In the autumn of 1879 he went abroad to study Semitic languages at the University of Berlin, where he remained for eighteen months, until the spring of 1881. During this time he also officiated occasionally at the English Chapel, and during part of the time was acting chaplain to the English colony at Berlin.

In the spring of 1881 Rev. Mortimer T. Jefferis, afterwards assistant at St. Michael's Church, asked Peters's assistance at Dresden on account of illness, and when Mr. Jefferis was compelled shortly afterwards to resign the rectorship of St. John's Church, in that city, Peters was called to be minister in charge. At that time the congregation worshipped in the Stock Exchange hall. Peters set himself to raise the money to secure a site and to provide a proper church building, making this in his own mind the limit of his incumbency at St. John's. Eighteen months later, in the autumn of 1882, a site having been purchased and the outlook for the erection of a church being sufficiently satisfactory, he resigned the charge of St. John's to resume his Semitic studies, and was succeeded by the Rev. Talliaferro F. Caskey, through whose active work the present beautiful church of St. John was erected.

In order to secure money to continue his studies, at the suggestion of Dr. Andrew D. White, then American Minister to Germany, Peters had undertaken, while still in Berlin, to translate Müller's *Politische Geschichte der neuesten Zeit*, 1816-1875. This work, with an appendix by Peters himself, carrying the history down to the date of publication, was finally published by the Harpers in 1882, under the title *A Political History of Recent Times*.

In the meantime Peters had been married by his father in the Embassy in Berlin, August 13, 1881, to Gabriella Brooke Forman, daughter of Thomas Marsh Forman of Savannah and Helen Brooke of Virginia, who had been studying music at the Hochschule in that city.

After resigning the charge of St. John's Church, Dresden, Peters spent the winter of 1882-83 in Leipzig, studying Semitic languages, devoting himself especially to Assyriology under Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch. After that a month or so was spent in London copying and studying Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions in the British Museum, and then he returned to New York to take charge of St. Michael's Church during his father's absence on a long trip of ten months around the world for his health. During his residence at St. Michael's Peters began, through a series of articles in the *Evening Post*, a campaign to arouse interest in the study of Semitic languages in America and to induce our colleges and universities to provide proper facilities for the study of those languages. It being known that it was Peters's intention to devote himself to the teaching and exposition of the Old Testament, his old friend and teacher, Bishop Seymour, published, at about the time of his return to New York, a letter

in the *Living Church*, setting forth his peculiar fitness for that work, and urging his appointment to a professorship in some Church institution. For the moment nothing came of this, but in the following year, 1884, after his father's return and while Peters was temporarily acting as his assistant, through the influence of Phillips Brooks and his brother, Arthur, a chair was created for him and he was appointed to the professorship of Old Testament languages and literature in the Philadelphia Divinity School.

During his temporary engagement at St. Michael's, part of Peters's work had been to preach once a month in German. At that time there was a large German constituency both in the church itself and also at Bethlehem Chapel, at least one-half of the baptisms, marriages and burials recorded in the parish register being conducted in German. It was necessary to provide religious services for these people. This was done partly by a German Sunday School and the ministrations of a German assistant at Bethlehem Chapel, and partly through the German services held in St. Michael's Church, at which latter, at least once a month, it was Peters's duty to preach. To continue this work, on his acceptance of the call to a professorship in the Philadelphia Divinity School, the Vestry of St. Michael's Church voted to appoint him also a regular assistant at St. Michael's, his duties being to preach once a month in the morning in English and once a month in the evening in German.

Peters was also for some time head of the Church German Society, and, as such, instrumental in preparing liturgical literature for the German mission work. Twenty years later he was a member of the Commission appointed by General Convention to make

a new translation of the Prayer Book into German, on which Commission he was associated, among others, with Dr. B. W. Wells, now a member of St. Michael's Vestry.

In accepting a professorship at the Divinity School in Philadelphia, Peters at the outset expressed his disapproval of separate small divinity schools having no connection with colleges or universities, and it was in fact on the assurance of certain of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Divinity School that they would second his effort to bring the Divinity School into closer connection with the University of Pennsylvania that he accepted the position. The first step towards establishing such a connection was taken the next year, 1885, when Peters was appointed professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania. No salary was attached to this position, but it was arranged that the students of the Seminary should have certain privileges in the University in return for the services rendered the University by Peters. Peters was also able by this arrangement to transfer from the Divinity School to the University the language instruction in Hebrew, retaining in the Divinity School only the exegetical and historical study of the Old Testament. In conjunction with his old fellow-student under Professor Whitney, Prof. W. R. Harper, later president of the University of Chicago, Peters was also able to establish a Hebrew summer school in connection with the Philadelphia Divinity School, which aided him greatly in his efforts to arouse interest in Philadelphia in Semitic studies in general and to improve the Hebrew scholarship of the students of the Seminary.

While studying in Germany, Peters had become convinced of the extreme importance, for Old Testament

study, of excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and almost immediately on his return to the United States he joined with a group of members of the American Oriental Society in organizing a committee to promote Babylonian exploration. It was his good fortune, through the kindness of Bishop Potter, to secure the ear of the late Miss Katherine Lorillard Wolfe for this enterprise. In the winter of 1883-84 she gave him \$5000 for Babylonian research, which was turned over to the American Institute of Archeology and used in sending out a tentative expedition, or expedition of reconnoissance, under Dr. William Hayes Ward of the *Independent*, the results of which were published later by Peters in his *Nippur*.

Stimulated by this success, after his removal to Philadelphia Peters endeavored to secure funds for the further prosecution of this work and for the conduct of actual excavations in Babylonia. Finally, in 1887, he elicited the interest of some rich Philadelphians and friends of the University, who contributed the money for an expedition on condition that Peters should himself become director. Leave of absence was granted him for this purpose, and he went out to Babylonia in 1888 as director of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia, the first expedition for excavation in the Semitic Orient ever sent out from this country, and one of the first expeditions for archeological work of any description ever undertaken by Americans. The expedition was delayed a long time in Constantinople, awaiting permission from the Porte to excavate, and there Peters completed a literary work on which he had been engaged for some years, the translation and editing of the Hebrew Old Testament in a form which should make it intelligible without comment to the

ordinary reader. This work was published by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, with whom in fact the idea originated, under the title *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* (the first two volumes dealing with the Old Testament were by Peters, the last volume, dealing with the New Testament, by his colleague, Dean Bartlett of the Philadelphia Divinity School), and later, with an introduction by Dean Farrar, the same work was published in England under the title *The Bible for Home and School*.

The place selected for excavation by the Babylonian expedition was Nippur, the site of the oldest religious cult of which scholars had any knowledge from the inscriptions, but situated, unfortunately, in a peculiarly difficult and dangerous territory, about five days' journey south of Baghdad, in the desert region between the Tigris and Euphrates. Excavations were commenced there early in 1889 and ended, after a little more than two months, with a serious disaster, the burning by the Arabs of the camp of the explorers, who were robbed and narrowly escaped massacre. The other members of the expedition resigned and Peters was recalled to America. The supporters of the expedition in Philadelphia, with a faith as commendable as it was remarkable, sent Peters back to the field, better equipped than before, and the second year's work, 1890, resulted in a great success. The oldest temple discovered up to that time was partly unearthed by this expedition, E-Kur, the temple of En-Lil, the Bel of Nippur, and a very large number of extremely ancient inscriptions were unearthed and brought back to Constantinople. These were the oldest Babylonian inscriptions theretofore discovered, and the results of that expedition carried our knowledge of history back 2000 years in one leap.

Peters was obliged to spend a considerable part of 1891 in Constantinople working over the material found in the expedition, and urging the claims of the University of Pennsylvania to a share in the spoils. As a result of this work he finally secured from the Turkish government the gift of a large share of the objects found, which were handed over to the University of Pennsylvania. Primarily as a result of this expedition a magnificent museum was erected to contain these and other archeological objects found by expeditions which grew out of the interest in archeology aroused in Philadelphia circles by this first expedition to Babylonia. The work at Nippur thus begun has been continued by the University of Pennsylvania more or less down to the present time with very astonishing results. The University of Chicago has also sent out an expedition to Babylonia. Further than this, Germany, France, and England have been aroused to new interest in Babylonia and Persia, and large and important expeditions have been sent out by those countries.

Until 1895 Peters continued to be the home director of the Babylonian work, the excavations in the field, from 1893 onward, being conducted by Dr. John Henry Haynes, Peters's lieutenant in the second expedition. An account of the work of the Babylonian expedition was published by Peters in 1896, under the title *Nippur: or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates* (Putnam's. 2 vols.).

In 1891, at the wish of his father, who expressed a desire for his assistance at St. Michael's in his declining years, and that he should take up his work after his death, Peters resigned his professorship at the Divinity School in Philadelphia and was made first assistant at

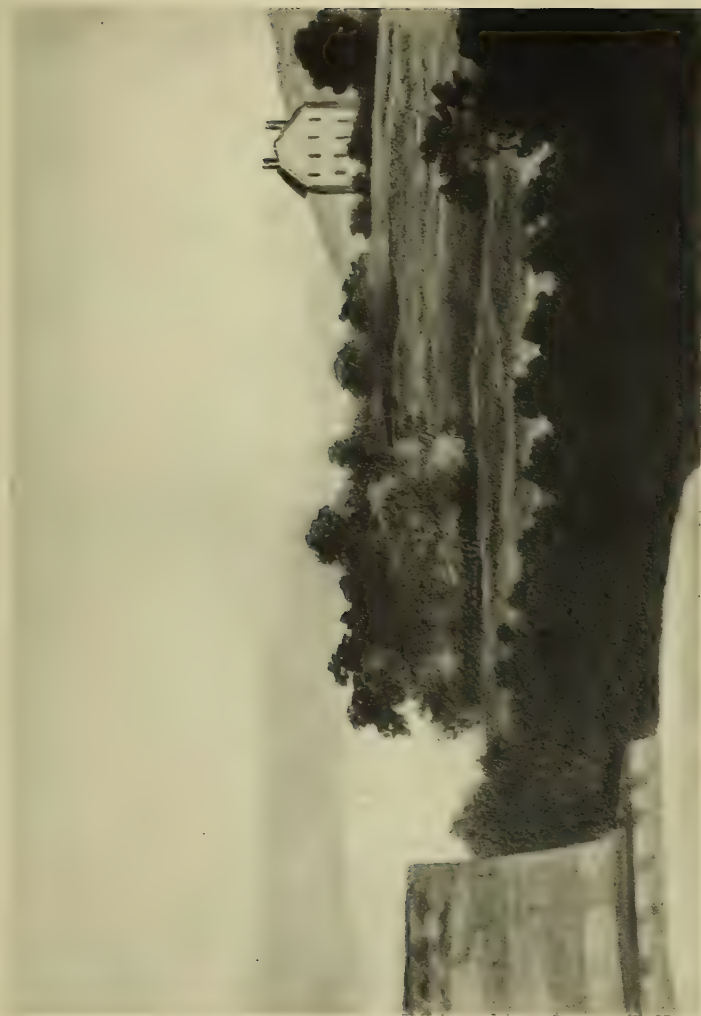
St. Michael's, with right of succession to the rectorship. It was arranged that he should still continue to hold his professorship at the University of Pennsylvania, spending two days a week there, the money received from this work being turned into the treasury of St. Michael's Church to enable the church to secure additional clerical assistance.

On the death of his father, in 1893, Peters was elected rector of St. Michael's Church, a position which he has held ever since. At the same time he resigned his professorship in the University of Pennsylvania. He has continued the work of St. Michael's on the lines laid down by his father, whose institution and city mission work, however, he did not feel competent or able to assume, in view of the increasing work in St. Michael's parish, due to the rapid growth of the neighborhood. He has also interested himself to a considerable extent in municipal affairs and those matters which are generally included under the term "civic righteousness." He is president of various organizations dealing with municipal reform and has been concerned in a large amount of neighborhood work. He has endeavored to some extent to keep up his scholarly and literary work, lecturing somewhere each year on archeological or biblical themes. He is the author of *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship* and *Early Hebrew Story*, and has published a great many articles and reviews, besides collaborating in various publications dealing generally with Old Testament work and oriental archeology.

In 1890, through the kindness of friends of the Philadelphia Divinity School, he was enabled, after leaving the excavations at Nippur, to spend some months in travel and study in Palestine. In 1902 he requested from

the church a leave of absence of ten months, never having up to that time taken a long vacation, as has become the custom in city parishes, in order to revisit Palestine and prosecute further studies there. Owing to serious illness in his family, he was able to take in fact a vacation of only seven months, but during that time he had the good fortune, in company with Dr. Hermann Thiersch of Munich, to discover at the ancient Marissa, on the borders of Judæa, some very remarkable painted tombs. An account of these was published by Peters and Thiersch in England in 1906 under the title *Painted Tombs from the Necropolis of Marissa*, as a memoir of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in large quarto form, with numerous illustrations, the Dominican monks in Jerusalem contributing the colored sketches.

Dr. Peters received the honorary degree of Doctor of Science from the University of Pennsylvania in 1895, and in the same year the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Yale University. In 1904 he was appointed Canon Residentiary of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, of which he is also one of the Trustees.



LOOKING NORTH FROM BLOOMINGDALE HEIGHTS
In Foreground Block House of 1812 War; in Distance, Claremont.
From Old Painting of 1814

PART III

CHURCHES AND INSTITUTIONS FOUNDED
WHOLLY, OR IN PART, THROUGH
ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

CHAPTER XIV

CHURCHES

I. *St. Mary's, Manhattanville*.—At the commencement of the nineteenth century, until after the War of 1812, there was no Manhattanville. On the Hudson shore at this point was a bay called Harlem Cove, and so far as the region had a name that was the name applied to the valley which cuts the western highlands of Manhattan Island at 129th Street. Above this valley on the south, on a high bluff overlooking the river, stood the house of Michael Hogan, one of the original pewholders of St. Michael's Church, now Claremont Hotel, and on the other side of the valley, but much farther removed from it, at about 144th Street, stood the country home of Jacob Schieffelin, another of the original pewholders. Both of these men had been Royalists in the Revolutionary period. Michael Hogan was an Irishman, born in County Clare in 1766, and served as midshipman in the British Navy with the Duke of Clarence, afterwards King William IV, for whom he seems to have conceived a strong affection. It was as midshipman in the British Navy that he first made acquaintance with New York, and he seems to have become so familiar with its waters at that time that he was commissioned to bring a French prize which his ship had captured into this port without a

pilot. Later he entered the service of the East India Company and made a fortune in India, where he also married. He came to New York in 1803 or 1804 in his own ship from the Cape of Good Hope, with twelve slaves, whom he afterwards set free, and a family of young children. He is said to have been the first Irishman of position and property who came to this country. He built two houses in Bloomingdale, one of which he sold, retaining the other for his own residence, and naming it Claremont after the residence of his old fellow midshipman the Duke of Clarence, perhaps also with some recollection of his own birthplace in Ireland. Mr. Hogan became as zealous a citizen of his new country as he had before been of the old. He was a man of considerable prominence in the community, and when the South American Republics set themselves free from Spain he was sent as the representative from this country to Chili to greet our new fellow free state.

The history of Mr. Schieffelin has been related in a former chapter. To him and his Quaker brothers-in-law, Messrs. Lawrence and Buckley, belonged a large tract immediately to the north of Bloomingdale, including the valley above described. In this valley, some time before 1820, they laid out the village of Manhattanville, opening eight or ten streets, all of which, Manhattan and Lawrence streets excepted, have since been done away with.

In those days, Mr. Thomas Finlay conducted a school in a house which is still standing, directly overlooking the old village of Manhattanville, upon the hill spur west of Broadway between Manhattan and 127th streets. In this school-house public service was occasionally celebrated by the clergy of different

denominations. The only churches accessible to the denizens of Manhattanville were St. Michael's, Bloomingdale, and the Dutch Reformed Church in Harlem, and no public conveyances ran from Manhattanville to either of those places. There were in fact only fifteen houses in the whole of the Manhattanville valley at that time. During the latter part of Dr. Jarvis's rectorship at St. Michael's, he had apparently held services on one or two occasions in Mr. Finlay's schoolroom, the same courtesy being extended to him as to the ministers of all other denominations, including Roman Catholics; Mrs. Finlay, always, after service, according to the custom of the day, offering to the officiating clergyman a glass of wine. In the autumn of his accession to the cure of St. Michael's, November 26, 1820, Mr. Richmond commenced conducting similar services at Mr. Finlay's school-house. November 28, 1823, Mr. Finlay died and was buried in St. Michael's Churchyard, and twenty days later, Thanksgiving Day, December 18th, a meeting was held at the school-house, with the approval and at the invitation of Mrs. Finlay, to organize a church. Morning service was said by a lay reader appointed by the Bishop. Mr. Richmond arrived by appointment after service, and those present organized themselves into a church, under the title of "the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, Ninth Ward of the City of New York." The wardens chosen were Valentine Nutter, also a warden of St. Michael's, and Jacob Schieffelin, one of the founders and a vestryman of that church. At the first meeting of the Vestry, held December 27, 1823, Rev. William Richmond, rector of St. Michael's, was chosen rector of St. Mary's, and it was provided that "all male per-

sons of full age who shall contribute the sum of fifty cents annually" to support the services of the church should be members of the congregation and entitled to vote. A committee was appointed to put in a claim to a share in the surplus proceeds of the sale of the "Common Lands of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Harlem," according to the act of Legislature of March 28, 1820, and it was also provided that the "Free School" of St. Mary's Church should be established in the village of Manhattanville, and that a claim should be made on the trustees of the Harlem Commons' Fund for \$2500 for this school under the aforementioned act. The next year the qualifications for membership were changed to "white male persons of full age, who shall for one year last preceding the Election have worshipped according to the rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church and shall have contributed the sum of not less than fifty cents," etc. It was also provided that "the Free School of St. Mary's Church shall be open equally to all denominations."

Mr. Schieffelin was especially interested in St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville belonging in considerable part to him, and his own country house standing in that neighborhood. His son, Gen. Richard L. Schieffelin, was associated with his father on the first vestry and was for many years treasurer of the parish, representing it also in Convention. The family interest has continued to this day, and since 1870 the Schieffelin family has been represented on St. Mary's vestry by Mr. George R. Schieffelin, son of Richard L. Schieffelin. It is not surprising to find John C. Hamilton, the son of Mr. Schieffelin's dear friend and neighbor, General Hamilton, elected to the Vestry in 1824, and his brother, James A. Hamilton, in 1826,

in which year also, Jacob Lorillard was elected vestryman. In 1824 it was decided to ask for an endowment from Trinity. This was never granted, but at a slightly later date an annual grant of \$300 was made, reduced in 1849 to \$200.

Mr. Richmond was assisted in his work at Manhattanville by Mr. Thomas T. Groshon, a lay reader, and services were held twice each Sunday in Mr. Finlay's school-house until sometime in the year 1825, when Mr. Richmond resigned the rectorship of the church on account of his other duties. Before that time, in 1824, Mr. Schieffelin had offered a piece of land 60 x 100 feet to the church, and the construction of a church building had begun. Among the subscribers to the building fund appear a number of names familiar in the history of the Church in New York in general and of St. Michael's Church in particular, with others who were not Churchmen at all, like Jacob Harsen. About \$1200 was collected by subscription, through the efforts, principally, of Mr. Groshon; \$800 was received from the Harlem Commons' Fund, and \$1200 was borrowed on three mortgages, an assignment of which was taken by the Corporation of Trinity Church. In order to execute these mortgages, Rev. John Sellon was elected rector in 1825. He seems to have performed no other function than to contribute twenty dollars to the building fund, his name heading the subscription list, and sign the mortgages, after which he passes out of the records. In December, 1825, the Church moved out of Mr. Finlay's school into the school of James Macomb, which was given free of rent. The church was finally consecrated October 23, 1826. In the meantime Mr. Schieffelin's Quaker brothers-in-law had erected a Meeting House on land

adjoining that given by Mr. Schieffelin for St. Mary's Church. This Meeting House, long since vanished, lay between the church and Phineas Street, which ran a little west of what is now Amsterdam Avenue. It stood, therefore, on what is now The Sheltering Arms playground. A generation later members of the Lawrence family were among the most liberal contributors toward the erection of a rectory for St. Mary's Church.

The first bell hung in the church belonged to Jacob Schieffelin. It is supposed to have come from one of the West India islands, and had formerly been used on the Manhattanville Academy, which Mr. Schieffelin had built when Manhattanville was laid out, on what is now Manhattan Street and Amsterdam Avenue. The pulpit and desk, with hangings and drapery, were presented by St. George's Church. They were of the old three-decker type. The pulpit, six sided, stood like a watch tower against the chancel wall. It was approached by a high flight of winding stairs and guarded by a door. Above it was a sounding board, whose only visible sustaining agent was a small dove upon the top, which bore in its beak a branch from some tree or bush. In front of the pulpit, much lower down, was a long desk with a settee for three occupants. The Bible occupied the middle and higher portion of the desk, prayer books resting on a lower portion on either side. In front of this desk was a small pine table used for the administration of the Holy Communion. The arrangements of the church in this regard were not unlike those still common in many Congregational churches throughout New England.

As soon as the church was built a committee was appointed to let pews, and it was provided that the

members of the congregation entitled to a vote in the annual elections should be those who rented pews. It appears also that when Jacob Schieffelin and Hannah Lawrence, his wife, gave the land for the church, sixty feet on Lawrence Street and one hundred feet deep, they reserved the right to select a pew for themselves and their heirs and to build a vault. In the vestry minutes of June 19, 1828, it is recorded that they selected the double pew No. 19, at the east corner of the church, to the left of the pulpit, and a square of fifteen feet in front of the westerly front window for a vault, and here in fact the Schieffelin vault was built. In further recognition of its indebtedness to the Schieffelin family for its existence, the seal adopted by the church was the Schieffelin crest.

The Vestry had voted that Thomas T. Groshon should become rector as soon as he became deacon. He died, however, before his ordination, October 3, 1828, and Rev. William Richmond was again chosen rector. In his report to Convention he states that the pecuniary embarrassments of the church "induced him to take charge of it in addition to his other duties." There were at that time "very few families in the village in the habit of attending service." By the following year, however, the church is "generally filled every Sunday, and a considerable congregation has been present at the service, and during the instruction of the Bible class on Wednesdays." With a fund of \$600, which he raised by \$50 subscriptions from rectors of city churches, he engaged the Rev. George L. Hinton as his assistant to conduct services once each Sunday at St. Mary's, "and once in the village of Harlaem." He also raised a further sum of \$1000 "to defray the current expenses of the Church and Sunday School,

pay the interest on the mortgage, and procure the necessary repairs and improvements." Mr. Richmond also brought a new accession of strength from St. Michael's to the Vestry in the persons of Doctors Williams, MacDonald, and Bailey, Messrs. Kane, Russell, Ford, DePeyster, Holly, and Whitlock, all members of the Vestry of that church. Nevertheless the condition of St. Mary's continued to be a very embarrassed one. On April 13, 1830, Mr. Hinton informs the Vestry that he must resign his position as assistant unless paid \$150 per annum, and owing to the "embarrassed condition of the finances" his resignation is accepted, the church at the same time relinquishing its claim on the missionary subscription raised by Mr. Richmond for work in Manhattanville and Harlem. In 1834 a judgment was obtained against the church. In 1835 it appears that Mr. Richmond's annual salary of \$300 has never been paid, and there is now due him the sum of \$1850.

One event of great importance occurred in those years. In 1831 St. Mary's was made a free church, the first free church in New York, and apparently in the country. It should be added that the only recorded receipts from pew-rents for the preceding years, when St. Mary's was a pewed church, are \$53 in the year 1827. To this period belongs also the first visitation of cholera in New York, in 1832. The terror of the unknown scourge was like that which prevailed in London in the great plague. Those in health deserted the sick, fleeing from the houses where the cholera had appeared. Among others Mr. Hinton, who had been assistant at St. Mary's such a short time before, died of that disease. The city put the whole upper part of Manhattan under Mr. Richmond's care,

with authority to order at his discretion and at the public charge whatever might be needed, either by way of food or other care, for the famine stricken and suffering poor. He went everywhere, entering where others feared to go; and with him

went one who deserves to be mentioned in connection with the history of Manhattanville, because she alone followed him everywhere, and went, without hesitation, to nurse wherever asked. Her standing, Churchwise, was not good; her position socially inferior; her education and mental culture entirely neglected; yet, what Christians would not do, Mrs. Reid did. She practised, in time of sore trial, what they were slow to do—the religion which visits those in affliction.

In 1836 Rev. James C. Richmond was appointed assistant minister with the right of succession to the rectorship, and in 1837, on the resignation of his brother, he became rector. There are no vestry records from 1840 to 1849, and between 1840 and 1844 there are not even notices of annual elections. From other sources it appears that Rev. James Richmond resigned his rectorship of St. Mary's about 1843; but the actual work of the parish had been done by Mr. Thomas M. Peters, acting as lay reader, since October or November of 1841. During that period a Sunday evening service was held in the church each Sunday, with a Sunday School in the afternoon. The entire receipts of the church at that period, outside of the Trinity grant, were only about \$16 a year, the amount of the Sunday night collections. From the reports to Convention it appears, however, that the Sunday School of St. Mary's was through all this period larger than the Sunday Schools at St. Michael's and

St. James's, owing to the fact that St. Mary's ministered to a very poor congregation and St. Michael's and St. James's to rich congregations of summer residents. Moreover, St. Mary's Church was located in a village, St. Michael's and St. James's in country districts. In July, 1847, Mr. Peters, having taken deacon's orders, was appointed assistant to Mr. Richmond, and put in charge of St. Mary's Church. During Mr. Richmond's absence on his Oregon mission, from 1851 to 1853, Mr. Peters, being in charge also of St. Michael's, All Angels', and the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, engaged Rev. George L. Neide to assist him at Manhattanville. It being plain that the church could not be made successful and self-supporting without a resident minister Mr. Peters undertook at this time to build a rectory by subscription; which was completed and paid for at a cost of \$1167.32, Mr. Peters and Mr. Neide being themselves the largest contributors. The subscription list, which has been preserved, contains not a single name which appeared on the subscription for the construction of the church less than thirty years before. In the intervening period the Tiemanns had come into the valley and established their paint factory, and other industrial enterprises had followed suit. These are all represented among the subscribers. From Carmansville appear the Fields, Hicksons, and Bradhursts, and from Bloomingdale the Meiers, Punnetts, Schwabs, von Posts, and Malis. With Mr. Peters also appears in the Vestry a new group of men who were associated with him then or to be associated with him later in his City Mission and institutional work, and some of them also as vestrymen at St. Michael's, James Punnett, John Jay, Jas. S. Breath, Daniel F. Tiemann, Peter C. Tiemann, and Dr. D. T. Brown.

On his return from Oregon in February, 1853, Mr. Richmond resigned the cure of St. Mary's, and Mr. Peters was elected rector. During the entire period of his rectorship Mr. Richmond had received no salary from the church. Not only had his nominal stipend of \$300 a year not been paid, but he had also expended money for the church for which he had not been reimbursed. In 1849 the sum due to him amounted to \$6566.17, which he donated to the church; but again in the following year it is noted in the vestry records that he had expended \$400 on "Assistant Ministers and Horse Hire," which debt he also cancelled. Mr. Peters undertook to make the church really self-supporting. Owing to his other duties at St. Michael's and All Angels' it was at first arranged that Mr. Neide should continue to reside in the rectory, working in the parish, and at the same time conducting services on Blackwell's Island under the Mission to Public Institutions. In 1854 he was succeeded in the position of assistant, residing in the parsonage, by Rev. Robert T. Pearson, formerly in charge of a Methodist congregation in Manhattanville, who had recently taken orders in the Church. In 1855, the parsonage having been enlarged, Mr. Peters himself contributing no small portion of the expense of that enlargement, the latter moved into the rectory, and Rev. Charles E. Phelps, his old seminary classmate, who was also in charge of All Angels' Church and a missionary of the Mission to Public Institutions, was appointed his assistant, so continuing by annual appointment of the Vestry until the close of Mr. Peters's rectorship. During the greater part of Mr. Peters's rectorship Rev. Thomas Cook was also engaged as a special assistant to hold services in German for the large German population of Manhattanville and

vicinity, Mr. Peters not feeling himself competent to preach in that language, although quite capable to administer the offices of the Church, Baptism, Matrimony, etc. In this work among the Germans Mr. Peters was materially assisted by the group of Caspar Meier's family and descendants in Bloomingdale.

With the settlement in the parsonage of its own rector, the independent existence of St. Mary's Church may be said to have begun, and between that time and the date of his resignation Mr. Peters succeeded in putting the church on a self-supporting basis. The basement of the church was equipped for a Sunday School. The church lot was increased, largely, as he writes, through the liberality and vigorous exertions of Mr. James Punnett, from 60 x 100 to 140 x 148 feet. A much larger section of land was bought by Mr. Peters and Mr. Punnett, and transferred by them in 1858 to St. Michael's Free Church Society for the benefit of St. Mary's Church, when the latter should be able to pay off the mortgage put upon it. This, unfortunately, it was never able to do, and a dozen years later the land was acquired by The Sheltering Arms, as related elsewhere. Mr. Peters's rectorship of St. Mary's was a time of simple living and hard work. It was his custom to open the church, kindle the fire, and ring the bell himself. Only thus could he be sure that all would be in readiness for service. March 1st, 1859, he resigned the rectorship of St. Mary's Church to become rector of St. Michael's, and with that date the actual connection between the Mother Church and this its oldest daughter ceased, the latter being at that time about thirty-six years of age.¹

¹For the material in this chapter, besides the records of St. Mary's Church, which were kindly placed at my disposal, I am

II. *St. Ann's Church, Fort Washington.*—There was, in the earlier part of the last century, a small handful of poor people located at what was called Fort Washington Pass. On the evening of the second Sunday after the Epiphany, as he notes with his usual Churchly precision, January 17, 1819, the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, rector of St. Michael's Church, gave a lecture in the school-house at Fort Washington and baptized there a dozen young people belonging to three different families, Collins, Sherman, and Francis, and varying in age from nineteen years down to infants in arms. After this it was apparently his custom to hold occasional services in that neighborhood until the close of his rectorship. Mr. Richmond took up the work thus begun and undertook to organize it into a church. His first service at Fort Washington, like his first service at Manhattanville, was held November 26, 1820, the one apparently in the afternoon, the other in the evening, at the house of a Mr. Morse. At that period, it will be remembered, no services were held in St. James's Church at this time of the year, and, therefore, the morning service at St. Michael's ended, the rector was free to utilize the remainder of the day for missionary work at his own discretion.

The work at Fort Washington was somewhat slower in development than the work at Manhattanville, and it is not until 1827 that mention is made in the Convention Journal of the actual organization of a church. By that date St. Ann's Church, Fort Washington, had been incorporated, and "the congregation now worships in the Hamilton School." This church continued

chiefly indebted to an Historical Address delivered at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, by the Rev. T. M. Peters, S. T. D., December 18, 1873.

to be reported to and represented in Convention for about ten years. While actually an appendage of St. Michael's, yet during a portion of this period, from 1829-30, Rev. Augustus Fitch, a teacher, recorded somewhat vaguely as connected with a school in Bloomingdale and having a school in Harlem, was minister, and, after his ordination as priest, rector of the parish. Sunday services, at least during the summer, do not seem as a rule to have been conducted by Mr. Richmond himself, but he reports in 1829 that he is officiating on Wednesday evenings at St. Ann's. In 1832 he reports that the services in St. Ann's Church are conducted by the Rev. J. M. Forbes, who "divides his time between Manhattanville and Fort Washington, holding the services on Sunday evenings at the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum." St. Ann's was represented in Convention during part or all of this time by Mr. Frederick DePeyster, of the Vestry of St. Michael's.

The records of the church do not exist, and we have no knowledge of the names of the wardens and vestrymen, but it would seem that here, as at Manhattanville, they were, to a considerable extent at least, the same persons who were also officers in St. Michael's parish. No church building was ever erected, and finally, in 1836 or 1837, the centre of population in that neighborhood having shifted farther to the southward, and Rev. William Richmond having left Bloomingdale to undertake a Free Church enterprise downtown, St. Ann's Church was abandoned. At a later date, in 1847, the Church of the Intercession, now become a Chapel of Trinity, was founded, largely through the instrumentality of the parish of St. Andrew's in Harlem, itself a child of St. Michael's, to provide for the spiritual needs of the new village of Carmansville, which had

sprung up a mile or so farther to the southward, but in the same general district for which St. Ann's had been originally designed.

III. *St. Matthew's Church, Yorkville.*—In his reports as rector of St. James's Church, Hamilton Square, Dr. Jarvis mentions a missionary school which has been undertaken for "the blacks." There was at an early date, apparently, a considerable colored population in St. James's parish, centring somewhere in the neighborhood of 64th Street. At a later date a considerable white population grew up eastward of Hamilton Square, having its centre farther to the north. These were people of an entirely different class from the wealthy summer residents who were pewholders at St. James's. As rector of that church, Mr. Richmond felt under obligation to care for these people. As they would not come to the parish church of St. James he undertook to hold services for them. These services were begun at about 84th Street, in the village of Yorkville, April 6, 1828, and as a result there was organized what was known as St. Matthew's Church, which was never, however, incorporated, and of which no formal reports appear in the Convention Journal. The only mention of this work in Mr. Richmond's reports to Convention is an occasional reference to the service which he is rendering to "another church in Yorkville." After the separation of St. Michael's and St. James's, in 1842, Mr. Richmond handed over this mission, together with the educational work which he had undertaken in Yorkville, to the rector of St. James's Church. The work seems to have been continued as a mission for some years. Finally in 1853, Rev. Dr. Chauncey, having become rector of St. James's Church, founded in that neighborhood, as successor to and a

development from the mission formerly known as St. Matthew's, the Church of the Redeemer, which was at a much later date removed to 136th Street.

IV. *St. Andrew's Church, Harlem.*—Toward the end of 1828 Mr. Richmond extended his activities to Harlem. This was a village of considerable importance, founded at an early date, and having a well-established Dutch Reformed Church. There were, however, not a few Episcopalians residing there, some for the summer and some all the year round. These found it difficult and inconvenient to attend services at St. James's or St. Michael's. Dr. Wainwright, then rector of Grace Church, and subsequently provisional Bishop of the Diocese, seems to have been in the habit of spending his summer vacations in Harlem, and it is said to have been at his suggestion that a meeting of a few of the inhabitants of that vicinity was held at the house of Mr. Pennoyer, the apothecary of the village, at the southwestern corner of Third Avenue and 122d Street. Mr. T. C. Groshon, candidate for Holy Orders, working in St. Mary's Church under Rev. Mr. Richmond, presided on this occasion. A resolution was introduced and passed, to the effect that it is expedient to erect a Protestant Episcopal Church in the village of Harlem, and a committee was appointed to solicit donations.

In 1828 Mr. Richmond took the matter up and engaged the Rev. G. L. Hinton as assistant minister to conduct services once each Sunday at St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, and once in Harlem. Arrangements were made for holding services in the Village Academy, on 120th Street, near Third Avenue, by the courteous permission of its trustees, who were for the most part members of the Dutch Reformed

Church. Mr. Richmond held the first service at this place December 7, 1828, after which Mr. Hinton took up the work. He met with such success that on the 14th day of February, 1829, a meeting of the congregation was held at the Academy, wardens and vestrymen were chosen, and the parish was duly organized under the corporate title of "The Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Andrew's Church, in the Village of Harlem, in the Twelfth Ward of the City and County of New York." At the first meeting of the Vestry the Rev. George L. Hinton was elected rector. Mr. Richmond raised the sum of \$600 from various city rectors, in subscriptions of \$50 each, for the space of two years, to pay the salary of Mr. Hinton, who continued until 1830 to be assistant at St. Mary's Church as well as rector of St. Andrew's.

Technically, the parent of St. Andrew's may be said to be St. Mary's Church, as Mr. Hinton is recorded as assistant at that Church. St. Mary's was, however, at that time and until much later, a mere dependency of St. Michael's and it was in reality, therefore, the rector of St. Michael's to whom the foundation of St. Andrew's Church is due.

V. *All Angels' Church*.—Some account has been given in an earlier chapter of the conditions and the population of the territory now included in Central Park. In the village then called Seneca, on the site of the present reservoir, the Rev. James Richmond commenced a mission Sunday School in 1833, after his return from Europe and before his consecration, under the direction of his brother, the Rev. William Richmond, rector of St. Michael's Church. Thirteen years later, 1846, work in this region was resumed, and a Sunday School was started in the house of a Miss

Evers, in 85th Street near 8th Avenue, by Mr. Minot M. Wells, then a student in the General Theological Seminary, afterwards rector of the Church of the Holy Innocents, Highland Falls, and Miss A. E. Halstead. In the following year the Rev. T. M. Peters, then assistant at St. Michael's, took charge of the Sunday School, and commenced further to hold regular religious services in the same place. In 1848 four ladies, theretofore unknown in connection with the work, Mrs. Emma Dashwood, Mrs. Louisa L. Wright, Mrs. Frances A. Carroll, and Miss Arabella Ludlow, gave four lots in 85th Street near 8th Avenue as a site for a church and burial ground.

Mr. Peters undertook to raise the money to build a church on this site and collected, chiefly in small sums, \$1308.87, the congregation of St. Michael's donating a part of it, by a general solicitation, apparently, of all Churchmen whom he could reach. The building actually cost about \$1000 more than the amount collected, leaving the church that much in debt to Mr. Peters. The church was consecrated in 1849, under the name of All Angels', Dr. A. V. Williams, Rev. C. R. Duffie, John A. King, and John Jay, Jr., being appointed trustees. That part of the land not built upon was used as a graveyard, and many poor people, especially colored people of that neighborhood, were buried there during the cholera visitation of 1849. Shortly after this, in 1851, the city forbade all interments below 86th Street, and, as All Angels' was just below that limit, the cemetery was closed in that year. In that year also, Mr. Peters purchased for the purpose of a cemetery seven acres of land in Astoria. In 1852, Mr. Peters deeded both the cemetery in Astoria and

also All Angels' Church, the title to which seems to have vested in him, in trust to St. Michael's Church, on condition of the payment by the latter of the debt of \$1000 due to him.

In his report to Convention in 1853 Mr. Peters says of the work at All Angels': "It is true missionary ground among a large, scattered, poor population. Many of those ministered to are blacks." There were 77 persons baptized in that year, of whom 6 were adults, 4 confirmed, 4 couples married, 22 persons buried; and there were 50 communicants, and 70 catechumens. It was a vigorous mission, but so poor that the total contributions for the year were only \$13.58; \$1.03 for the poor, \$3.51 for parish purposes, and \$9.04 for the Suburban Clerical Association, that is, really, for the Mission to Public Institutions. The report of the work of the latter in the Colored Home, Bellevue Hospital, Alms House, Blackwell's Island, New York Orphan Asylum, Randall's Island, Penitentiary, etc., is included in the report of All Angels' Church for that year, the future City Mission Society being then only a parochial undertaking of St. Michael's Church and its dependencies.

In 1856 the city of New York condemned the land between 5th and 8th avenues from 59th to 104th streets, including, of course, the four lots on which All Angels' stood, for a park, awarding the sum of \$4010 as damages therefore. In the spring of the preceding year, 1855, Mr. Peters had engaged Rev. Charles E. Phelps as assistant at St. Mary's and All Angels', assigning to him the especial charge of the latter, together with work in the Mission to Public Institutions. Mr. Phelps writes of his duties and of the early days of All Angels' Church as follows:

A part of my duty was to hold service at the Penitentiary on Blackwell's Island every Sunday morning. On the second Sunday in the month, however, the Rev. William Richmond, then the rector of St. Michael's, had been in the habit of holding service at the Penitentiary, including the Holy Communion. On those Sundays I took his place at St. Michael's, either by reading the service or preaching. I held service every Sunday, at 1 P.M., at All Angels' Mission, which at that time was located in 85th Street, a little east of 8th Avenue. The congregation was composed partly of colored people, and partly of Germans, all of whose houses were located in what was afterward the Central Park. This continued for about a year, when the church and houses all had to be vacated, on account of the opening of the Park. It was then a problem what was to be done, for the congregation had all been dispersed. Dr. Peters suggested that I should begin holding services in a private house [of a Mrs. Brown] on the Bloomingdale Road. The congregation soon became so good that it was found necessary to hire a public hall on 74th Street and Broadway. All the expense of this was borne by Dr. Peters himself, with members of St. Michael's Church, and Trinity Church, which helped us.

As a result of the condemnation of the Park, the entire old congregation was scattered and a new congregation organized, only one person in which belonged to the original congregation of All Angels'. The old church building was bought from the city at a cost of \$250 and removed piecemeal to the present site, 81st Street and 11th Avenue, now West End Avenue, where four lots had been purchased at an expense of \$2825.86. In the meantime, on January 23, 1858, St. Michael's Free Church Society had been organized for the purpose of "the establishment of Free Churches in the City of New York in communion

with and subject to the discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America." The incorporators of this Society were the Rev. T. M. Peters, and Messrs. James Punnett, William Henry Low, Thomas A. Richmond, A. V. Williams, D. T. Brown, and P. C. Tiemann. To this Society, after the \$1000 which had been advanced in 1852 had been repaid, St. Michael's Church made over the property held by it for All Angels' Church.

Services were begun in the new All Angels' Church on the last Sunday in June, 1858, and by Christmas of the same year the attendance had become so good that it was thought best to incorporate the parish. This was done on December 29, 1858, and at the same time the Rev. Charles E. Phelps was elected rector, Mr. Peters having resigned the cure when he took charge of St. Michael's Church. Mr. Phelps's salary was helped out after he became rector, as it had been before, by the work which he did as a missionary to the Public Institutions. He writes that during the three years before he was made rector of All Angels' he had held services for the Mission to Public Institutions at Randall's Island, Blackwell's Island, Bellevue Hospital, and the Colored Home, then located in Yorkville, at 64th Street. During the ten following years, while he was rector of All Angels' Church, he served at Bellevue Hospital, the Colored Home, and the New York Orphan Asylum, with occasional services at Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum and the House of Mercy. Mr. Phelps resigned the charge of All Angels' on account of ill health in 1868 and was succeeded by the Rev. John M. Heffernan. In the following year, 1869, St. Michael's Free Church Society conveyed to the vestry of All Angels' Church the property held

by it for that church, including the land and building, the deed providing that the title to this property should revert to St. Michael's Church in case a free church was not "thereafter always maintained upon the property of all Angels'." Mr. Heffernan was succeeded in June of 1870 by the Rev. Dr. D. F. Warren. In December of the following year, the latter proposed to Rev. Dr. Peters, both as rector of St. Michael's Church and President of St. Michael's Free Church Society, the sale of All Angels' Church to Trinity Church, the latter undertaking to erect a chapel on that site. As the result of several communications on this subject, Dr. Peters writes, under date of December 19, 1871:

I do not see how we could take the action proposed by you without contradicting ourselves. St. Michael's formerly held All Angels' property. We thought that as an independent Church All Angels' would eventually prosper more than if attached as a chapel to another church. If it is to return to a dependent position it had better come back to its starting point. I do not think it would be pleasant to any of us to look back at all the labor of establishing All Angels', if it were to result in our procuring ground for another church to build a chapel on.

I do not think it is the best thing for All Angels'."

That was the end of the proposition to turn All Angels' into a Chapel of Trinity. Dr. Warren resigned November 1, 1872. In 1873 All Angels' Church asks St. Michael's to release its reversionary interest in All Angels' property, that the latter may borrow money thereon, and, in the interest of the future of All Angels', St. Michael's refuses. On Christmas day, 1873, Rev. Dr. Charles F. Hoffman became rector of All Angels', and from that date on St. Michael's Church

has no further direct concern with its affairs until 1888, when the neighborhood had changed from a semi-rural suburb to an integral part of a great and crowded city. On March 19th of that year the following communication was addressed to the Rector, Wardens, and Vestrymen of St. Michael's Church by the Rector, Wardens, and Vestrymen of All Angels' Church:

At a meeting of the Vestrymen of this parish it was resolved that the following communication be forwarded to your honorable body:

Whereas, this parish has received an offer from the Rev. Chas. F. Hoffman, D.D., to build and complete for it a new Church, at an approximate cost of \$100,000—on condition that the present property be first freed from all assessments and other incumbrances, and that the current expenses of the parish be pledged by responsible parties for the next two years; and that the necessary excavation be first made; and Whereas, these conditions—necessitating the raising of over \$20,000—can with great difficulty be met, because of an alleged remainder in this property said to be held by your parish, giving us in reality, as has been claimed, only a free lease of this property on conditions imposed by members of your parish; and Whereas, this Church we now occupy has been maintained as a free Church for more than thirty years, and for fifteen years at great expense to the rector of this parish; and Whereas, we have paid in full a Mortgage of \$2500, with interest for many years on this property, and furthermore to retain said property we must still pay assessments amounting to nearly \$5000; and Whereas, the greatly increased value of this property may be a source of temptation to some future members of the corporation in which the alleged remainder in this property is claimed to be vested, and may thus be a constant source of discord between the parish of "St. Michael's" and the parish of "All Angels"; and Whereas, the great change in the character of this vicinity promises

to do away with the necessity of a free church to meet the wants of poor people, and in fact may sometime necessitate the raising of its income by means other than the offertory, although we have no present idea of restricting the freedom of the seats; and Whereas, there will always be more free seats in the new Church (in any contingency) than there are now seats of all kinds in the present structure; and Whereas, in the opinion of the Diocesan and all other persons interested in the future of this work as a part of the Church in this great City, the efficiency, permanence and prosperity of the work will be greatly enhanced, and the unity of our two parishes greatly advanced by the transfer to us on your part of any interest you may now have or claim to have, by reason of the said alleged remainder in this property—We therefore respectfully submit these preambles for your consideration, with the request that you will, as soon as possible in view of the interests at stake, take the matter up and appoint a committee from your body to confer with a like committee from this body, that a fair and reasonable basis of settlement may be agreed upon for submission to the respective corporations, at an early date.

The idea of a free church entertained by the persons who composed this document, namely, that a free church is meant only for poor people and that if people are well-to-do they will of necessity have a pewed church, was of course abhorrent to the conception of a free church entertained by the Rector, Wardens, and Vestrymen of St. Michael's Church, and represented in fact an idea against which Dr. Peters had often earnestly and publicly protested as actually anti-Christian. The object of a free church was to do away with the distinction of rich and poor in God's house, to bring rich and poor together in the same building to the advantage of both. It was to create



ST. JAMES'S CHURCH
Hamilton Square



ST. TIMOTHY'S PARISH HALF A CENTURY SINCE
Looking South from Columbus Circle

a church where rich and poor should meet together as real brothers, children of one father, that Dr. Peters had begged the money with which the land of All Angels' Church was bought, and he was unwilling that the land bought with money donated for that special purpose should be diverted to another use.

This communication from All Angels' Church was followed rapidly by another from the Bishop of the Diocese, dated April 7, 1888:

Since I saw you, I have been officially informed by the authorities of All Angels' Church that they are prepared to covenant that the Church which it is proposed to erect on the West End Avenue lots shall be a *Free Church*. They desire, however, that "the remainder" at present held by the Rector and Vestry of St. Michael's Church, shall, to avoid future friction, be vested in the Diocesan authorities, the trustees of the Estate and property of the Diocesan Convention, or some other Corporation;—and this seems to me a reasonable, equitable and orderly request.

As there seems to be no further obstacle to the consummation of the precise purpose for which the lots at present occupied by All Angels' Church were originally secured, I am sure that you and your Vestry will gladly co-operate to hasten that end.

Both of these communications were presented to the Vestry of St. Michael's Church at the annual meeting, April 7, 1888. In accordance with the request made, a committee was appointed to confer with All Angels' Church, and, to make a long story short, the original condition attached to the property was maintained, namely, that any church built on that site should be forever free. Under that condition All Angels' Church occupies its present site.¹

¹The material for this account has been drawn from the records of St. Michael's Church and St. Michael's Free Church Society,

VI. *St. Timothy's Church*.—About the middle of the last century the increase of population for whom there was no religious home on the west side of the city below 59th Street, a region still regarded as part of St. Michael's parish, led the acting rector of that parish to take steps to organize a church in that neighborhood. Toward the end of 1852, during Mr. Richmond's absence in Oregon, while he was in charge of St. Michael's and St. Mary's and rector of All Angels', Rev. T. M. Peters called Rev. James Cole Tracey from Cleveland, as his assistant, to undertake missionary work in the neighborhood above mentioned, with a view to organizing a new church, and to take part in the work of the Mission to Public Institutions, which was then conducted by the clergy of St. Michael's parish. In the latter work he assisted only for a brief period, all his energies being devoted to the establishment of the new church. In February of 1853 "a low, ill ventilated schoolhouse of clapboards holding scarce 100 people with comfort and located on the north side of 53rd Street west of 8th Avenue was rented for \$75 a year." This enterprise was given the name of St. Timothy's Church. In six months' time the building was found insufficient to accommodate the congregations, and at the Diocesan Convention that autumn Mr. Tracey reports 62 families and 253 individuals connected with the church, of whom, however, 29 only were communicants. A self-supporting parish (pay) school had been in existence for four months, with 75 scholars, and four lots of ground had been offered as a gift for a new church. The church was not actually incorporated until February 27, 1854.

and from personal letters of Rev. Charles E. Phelps, first rector of All Angels' Church after its incorporation.

In the *Churchman* of July of the same year Mr. Tracey writes as follows with regard to the neighborhood to which the church ministers.

I wish to make a statement of facts in regard to this new congregation. The district in which it is located has been entirely of a missionary character, the City proper having advanced its improvements but little further than Fifty-first Street, in which Street, near Eighth Avenue, the school house stands in which we are worshipping, the inhabitants being mostly of the working class. Above Twenty-eighth Street and west of Seventh Avenue, there is but one Episcopal Church, within the City limits, already built, and this church is of the smaller class.

The extent of territory comprises almost the whole of two wards of the city.

On the death of Mr. Tracey, in 1855, the Rev. Dr. Howland, then rector of the Church of the Holy Apostles, suggested an arrangement by which the Church of the Holy Apostles might come to the assistance of the struggling congregation, namely, the appointment of Rev. George Jarvis Geer, assistant minister of the Church of the Holy Apostles, to take charge of St. Timothy's Church, the Holy Apostles' thus paying the salary of the minister in charge and St. Timothy's defraying the remainder of the expenses. Two years later, in 1857, Dr. Geer became rector. The further history of the parish and its ultimate union with Zion Church do not belong in this article. St. Michael's relation to St. Timothy's was merely to lay the foundations, by sending a missionary to organize the church, and paying his salary until that was done; the rector and some members of the congregation also contributing funds for the hiring of a place in which to conduct the work.

VII. *Bethlehem Chapel*.—In another chapter will be found a description of the conditions prevailing in the squatter settlement which sprang up to the west of Eighth Avenue, after the creation of the Park, and the manner in which Dr. Peters finally secured a footing in that settlement in 1867. Bethlehem Chapel was the outcome of the work begun by him in that year. In the report of the City Mission Society to the Diocesan Convention in 1870 occurs the following mention of this work:

Bethlehem Chapel, the name of our Mission Centre among the Germans west of Central Park, is situated on 9th Avenue between 82d and 83d Streets. Two lots were purchased, and a cheap wooden building was erected in the autumn of 1869, and used through the winter, until found too small and inconvenient for its intended purpose. The Ladies' Industrial Society, connected with the Mission, have collected \$5000, with which they are erecting a neat chapel and school room, the former above the latter. The zeal and energy of these ladies, under the superintendence of Mrs. Terhune, have added greatly to the effectiveness of the Mission. By their visiting, by the Industrial School and by their labors in the Sunday School, they have been the means of bringing many children and parents to the School and Church. The Rev. F. Oertel, who is in charge of this Mission, is assisted in the School by Mr. and Mrs. Torbeck. Daily, through the larger portion of the year, and nightly during autumn, winter and spring, the children and young people attend in large numbers the School instruction. The whole number actually ministered to in the German department of our labors has been 1355. With our separate school room and Churchly place of worship, we may expect in the future more fellow laborers, and, by God's blessing, we trust, larger results in Christianizing these well nigh heathen people. It is our hope to have at the Bethlehem Mission in some not distant day a

refuge, which may extend to the Germans the succor received by other classes at St. Barnabas.

From that day until the close of the actual mission work the Chapel remained under the supervision and direction of the rector of St. Michael's, although at the same time a station of the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society. The latter institution paid during most or all of the time the salary of the German clergyman, St. Michael's providing teachers for the Sunday School and Industrial Schools and the greater portion of their support, and providing also the superintendence and occasional services of its own clergy. In 1886, the poor German squatter population having practically entirely disappeared, and a large number of houses having been built in that neighborhood by a member of the parish of the Incarnation, Dr. Peters suggested to the Rev. Arthur Brooks, rector of that church, to take over Bethlehem Chapel as a mission of the church of the Incarnation, with a view to establishing an independent parish. In point of fact Dr. Brooks did for some time hold services there, but with results not altogether satisfactory to himself. The congregation looked for to support the new church did not appear. This plan proving unsuccessful the Rev. Mr. Chamberlain, then assistant at All Angels', undertook to gather an independent congregation, if he might have the use of the chapel for the purpose. As the result of his efforts St. Matthew's Church was organized in 1887, and Bethlehem Chapel leased to it for one dollar. As is plain from the above, it is only indirectly, therefore, that St. Michael's Church can claim any relation to the establishment of St. Matthew's.

VIII. *Church of the Archangel*.—By 1887 the popu-

lation on Harlem plain, north of 110th Street and east of Morningside Park, was increasing so rapidly that Dr. Peters felt the necessity of taking some steps to provide for their spiritual needs. The region was at that time quite inaccessible to St. Michael's Church, and even more inaccessible to St. Mary's, Manhattanville, and St. Andrew's and Holy Trinity, Harlem, the latter not yet removed to its present site. Accordingly, Dr. Peters engaged the Rev. Montgomery H. Throop, Jr., as assistant at St. Michael's Church and assigned to him the especial work of ministering to the people of that region and organizing them, if possible, into a church. At the same time he requested several members of St. Michael's parish living nearest that region to assist Mr. Throop in his work, and in his report to the Convention of 1888 he refers to the services which have been maintained above Central Park, "where a new parish is being organized." This work was known at first as St. Michael's Annex, and the Year Book and Messengers contain notices of collections for the work, and testify to the interest in it felt in St. Michael's parish. The services at that time were held in "Brady's Hall, on 125th Street." Later it was for a brief period designated as the Church of the Advent and on October 9, 1888, St. Michael's Vestry gives formal consent to the organization of the Church of the Advent on territory north of 110th Street and east of Morningside Park. The church was actually organized in that year, but the name finally adopted was the Church of the Archangel. The following report of the parish, presented in 1890, gives its history up to that date:

From about October 1, 1887, to about August 1, 1888, what is now the Church of the Archangel was a mission

of St. Michael's under the care of the Rev. Montgomery H. Throop, at that time assistant minister at St. Michael's. A little before August 1, 1888, under the advice of the Rector of St. Michael's the parish was incorporated. The Rev. Charles R. Treat assumed the Rectorship, September 1, 1888. At that time the congregation was holding services in a store on the corner of 117th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, and numbered some ten or fifteen souls. The congregation soon became too large to meet in the little store, and from January 29, 1889 to June 30, 1889, held services in a hall upon 125th St. near Eighth Avenue. Two lots were purchased upon St. Nicholas Avenue between 117th and 118th Streets and the erection of a modest edifice begun. This was occupied for the first time, June 30, 1889. It was built with borrowed money, and the land was paid for with a purchase money mortgage. Therefore, as only a few hundred dollars have been received from any outside source, the efforts of the congregation have been thus far centered upon the task of self-support and payment of debts.

At date of report, the congregation hold the title upon the church, which is valued at \$40,000 and we owe only about \$20,000. There is no floating debt and there has never been a debt incurred there through excess of expenditure over income.

The Rev. Mr. Treat remained rector only until 1892. Under his successor the church failed to maintain itself and finally, in 1897, the mortgage on the property was foreclosed, the building sold to the Roman Catholic Church of St. Thomas, and nothing remained of the parish except its incorporation and some furniture. A canvas of the Assembly District of which this region was a part, taken at this period under the auspices of the Federation of Churches, showed that there was a large and growing population of Protestants in this section, and among them a very

considerable number of Churchmen. So between 7th and 8th avenues and 110th and 120th streets, there were reported 1378 families, containing 5318 persons. Of these 884 families, containing 3361 persons, were Americans; 173 families, of 720 persons, German; 136 families, of 575 persons, Irish; and 59 families, of 218 persons, English. There were reported in this section 142 Episcopalian families without church homes. The remainder of that neighborhood, not contained in the 21st Assembly District, and therefore not included in this census, was of the same character. It was evidently a region which needed and should be able to support an Episcopal Church.

Informed and encouraged by this census, Rev. George S. Pratt, then and for ten years preceding assistant at St. Michael's Church, accepted in 1898 the rectorship of the practically defunct parish of the Archangel and undertook to restore it to life, holding services first in a hall on 116th Street and later in the crypt of the Cathedral. To assist him in this enterprise, the Vestry of St. Michael's Church continued him for one year in his position as assistant at St. Michael's, setting him free, however, to devote his time to organizing the new parish. How, with many sacrifices and much struggle, he succeeded in building first a guild house and then a church on St. Nicholas Avenue and 115th Street, it is not the province of this article to relate. The formal connection of the Archangel with St. Michael's Church ceased in 1899, when Mr. Pratt resigned the position of assistant in the latter. The intimate relation resulting from affection and long service has kept the two parishes in close touch ever since. In 1907, All Souls' Church having sold its property on Madison Avenue and combined

with the Church of the Archangel, the latter as a name finally passed out of existence, All Souls' taking its place.

IX. *Trinity Church, Portland, Oregon.*—For completeness sake we may make mention here of Trinity Church, Portland, Oregon, inasmuch as it was through the loan by St. Michael's Church of its rector, Rev. William Richmond, to the Mission Board to serve in Oregon that this church was founded. The account of that mission, with the foundation of Trinity Church and other churches in Oregon, will be found in the chapter on the life of the Rev. William Richmond, in a previous part of this volume.

CHAPTER XV

INSTITUTIONS

I. *The New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society*.—As narrated elsewhere this Society was established in 1831 with the Bishop of the Diocese, Bishop Onderdonk, as its head, and the rector of Grace Church, Dr. Wainwright, as the chairman of its Executive Committee, and incorporated in 1833, Gideon Lee, a vestryman of St. Michael's Church, and then mayor of the city, being one of the incorporators. On the Board of Managers were the rector of St. Michael's and four laymen representing that parish. The object of this Society was declared to be

to provide, by building, purchase, hiring, or otherwise, at different points in the City of New York, churches in which the seats shall be free, and mission-houses for the poor and afflicted; and also to provide suitable clergymen and other persons to act as missionaries and assistants in and about the said churches and mission houses.

Its actual work was to establish free churches or rather free chapels for people of the middle class who were unwilling or unable to pay pew-rent in the churches of those days. Sixteen years later this Society passed out of existence, the richer churches of New York having by that time established free chapels of their own, engaged in the support of which they were un-

willing to contribute towards the maintenance of a separate organization to provide such chapels. The chapels already in existence were, therefore, organized as independent churches and left to care for themselves, and the Society, having wound up its affairs, ceased operations. In that same year, 1847, the Rev. T. M. Peters was ordained deacon and became assistant to Rev. William Richmond of St. Michael's and St. Mary's. He thus describes the origin of the new Mission to Public Institutions which sprang up in the place of the first City Mission Society¹:

Four of five of the City Rectors had at that time adopted the practice, then recently introduced, of opening their churches for Daily Prayer.

The late Rev. William Richmond, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale, was stimulated in his devotion by the sight of the readiness of men who voluntarily undertook a somewhat confining task, far beyond what was generally considered a Rector's or Pastor's necessary duty. "These Clergy," said he, "certainly present the appearance of a devotion and self-denial above those of the larger portion of their brethren." Mr. Richmond was always in sympathy with work and workers as such, yet was not altogether of accord in theological sentiment with those to whom we now refer. Willing to undertake any labor which should redound to the glory of God, or which might comfort and strengthen the souls of pilgrim mortals, he yet had no inclination to open his church for a Daily Service at which but two or three members of the congregation, and they among the most devout, could or would attend. "I will not shrink from that labor," thought he, "but will bestow it upon the larger number—upon the greater sinner—the neglected outcast." He accordingly proposed to his Assistant that they should each take from

¹ *The Gradual Growth of Charities*, a pamphlet printed for the City Mission Society in 1873.

their days at least as many hours as would be occupied by the attendance of each at Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and employ that time in Hospitals, alms-houses, or Asylums.

The work thus begun was carried on at first as a part of the parochial work of St. Michael's Church; then for a few years upon a larger scale as the Mission to Public Institutions, supported partly by contributions of members of St. Michael's parish, partly by gifts from outside friends, and partly by an annual donation from the Parochial Aid Society. Little by little there were added to the staff of St. Michael's Church, by whom the work was first begun, clergymen engaged as missionaries, with one or two volunteers, and some devoted laymen, who conducted services in the different institutions according to a form prepared for the purpose by the Rev. T. M. Peters. The first report of the Mission to Public Institutions to the Diocesan Convention was made in 1853, and from that year onward to 1864 its reports are printed regularly in the Journal.

By that time the work had become so large that it seemed desirable to place it under the charge of an incorporated organization immediately responsible to the Bishop of the Diocese. The charter of the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, secured in 1833, was such an admirable one that it seemed best to use that, a few necessary changes having been secured from the Legislature, rather than to create a new corporation under a new charter. Accordingly the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society was technically revived, the necessary changes in the charter obtained,¹ and at a meeting

¹ The change of charter was not actually obtained until March 16, 1866.

held in Calvary Church, in 1864, the Mission to Public Institutions went out of existence, the members of that mission joining with others invited for the purpose to form the new Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society. Dr. Peters became the chairman of the Executive Committee of the new society, and its practical head and director, and such he continued to be until the day of his death, combining the charge of this great work with his parochial activities at St. Michael's. The effect of the Society upon the Church in New York at large is described in its report to the Convention of 1882 as follows:

In the distant past, when this work began, "Our Church," as one truly said, "lay under a sore reproach. It was the Church of a class, of the rich and fashionable."

This Society undertook to break up that state of things and bring "our principles, our Prayer-book, our institutions, to the knowledge of the working classes, and the brethren of low degree, by founding and supporting free churches, and thus extending the bounds of our Christian family." The effort was successful, the stigma was effaced. "Not content with this, it held out the arm and hand to the poorest and lowest among us, entering in sublime faith, self-denial and patience into the darkest and saddest of all the ways of misery, vice and sin."

It may be added that the stigma of being the Church of a class, of the rich and fashionable, has been removed largely through the work of St. Michael's parish and its rectors.

At the time of Dr. Peters's death the Executive Committee of the City Mission Society spread this beautiful minute upon their records:

In loving memory of the Ven. Thomas McClure Peters, S. T. D., Archdeacon of New York, the executive committee of the City Mission Society place this minute upon the

journal of their proceedings. A long life, devoted to the service of God, the Church and his brethren, forms the happy record of this faithful priest and pastor. Born June 6, 1821, he left us Aug. 13, 1893, having more than fulfilled the three-score years and ten, his eye undimmed and his natural force unabated. Up to the last day of his life he was in the full exercise of his varied offices of religion, charity and mercy, and his departure realized Bishop Andrews's description of an enviable transit, being "without sin, without shame and without pain." Lying down to rest, after a day of activity, he slept, and, so far as is known, without a struggle or a pang, he passed into the light of the presence of the Master.

Dr. Peters was graduated at Yale, and received from that ancient university the honor of the doctorate in theology. He studied at the General Theological Seminary, and was enrolled among its eminent alumni. He began his work as a lay reader in the parish of St. Michael in 1842, became in time its rector, kept the fiftieth anniversary of his connection with the parish, December, 1892. He had no other parochial connection; he was identified with St. Michael's for half a century. He was constant in devotion to the work of Church extension, and for many years practically the head of the City Mission Society. In the year 1891 he was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York, and in 1892, upon the resignation of the Ven. Alex. Mackay-Smith and his removal to Washington, Dr. Peters was appointed Archdeacon of New York, an office which he was peculiarly qualified to fill. He was also connected with the "House of Rest for Consumptives," where his services and counsel were highly valued.

But perhaps in all his varied work none was more sympathetically and affectionately done than that among the children. It was he who founded "The Sheltering Arms." He also saved "The Children's Fold" at a critical moment in which, but for his interposition and skilful

conduct of affairs, it would have disappeared from the list of our Church charities; he was at the same time in charge of another institution of the same class, the "Shepherd's Fold." In the Leake and Watts Orphan House, situated very near St. Michael's Church, he took a deep interest, and was for many years a power in that admirable institution, though not officially connected with it; he was the confidant of the superintendent, Mr. Guest, the welcomed counsellor and adviser of the trustees, and the personal and faithful friend of the little objects of the trust, to whom he gave a cordial welcome in his parish church, where, until the removal to Yonkers, the officers and inmates were regular attendants.

Blessed indeed is he who has left such a record wherefrom to weave a laurel wreath for his monument. And happy a transit such as his, in which was found no trace of the "pains of death."

That our departed brother was thoroughly conversant with the details of business, a distinctly practical person, might be inferred from the successful manner in which his affairs were conducted. Those who knew him most intimately knew best how even was his temper, how calmly and equably life flowed on for him. Up to the end all went on after that fashion, and the ending was in exact harmony with all that preceded.

He was taken away in the summertime, when days are long and the air is balmy and the sunshine is warm, and all nature is aglow. They who had the privilege of attending his funeral may have remarked the singular character which invested the ceremonies; they may have felt as if they were at a bridal rather than at a burial. The chancel was a bower of fragrance and floral beauty, the music was bright and joyful, the body lay beneath a mass of roses; even the vestments of the clergy bespoke a festal character. The crowded church was filled in great measure with the working classes and the poor; women were there with little babies in their arms; detachments of children from

the several charitable homes of which he was the head; clergymen in great numbers walked in procession; prelates of the Church, all personally devoted to him, conducted the services, and two of them laid his head in the ground of St. Michael's Cemetery. As the body was borne from the church, poor men, standing in double ranks, uncovered and tears were flowing fast. It was a tribute which many a worker in the Church might envy.

"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"

II. *House of Mercy*.—In the course of his ministrations among the outcasts of Blackwell's Island, Mr. Richmond found many young women and girls who had made but the first step in the road to temporal and eternal ruin. There were difficulties in the way of reclaiming these wanderers, which he thought would be in some measure overcome, or at least lessened, could he bring proper female influence to second his warnings and teachings. To accomplish this end, and aid in saving souls, in the year 1854, Mrs. Richmond offered herself for this work, to which were devoted the remaining eleven years of her life.¹

She soon found that her work with the girls and women in the Penitentiary on Blackwell's Island was useless unless she could provide a home for them to go to in Manhattan when they were discharged. Accordingly she rented a house on Jauncey's Lane, near Eighth Avenue; but scarcely had it been rented when the city condemned the land for the Park, and she had to vacate. Another house was rented in Manhattanville,

¹ *Gradual Growth of Charities*. Mrs. Richmond actually began her work as reader and visitor in the Penitentiary in the latter part of 1853.

and with the help of a few friends fitted conveniently for her purposes at considerable expense, with furnace, water, etc. When the alterations were nearly completed, the carelessness of the workmen set fire to the building, and left Mrs. Richmond not only without a house, but with the rent to pay for a whole year to come, for that which the flames had destroyed. Under such disaster and discouragement probably few would have had the heart to try again. Mrs. Richmond had, however, faith in God. She believed He had called her to this work, and would reward her labors with success. She looked for the speedy coming of the Messenger to bid her go on, and speedily he came.

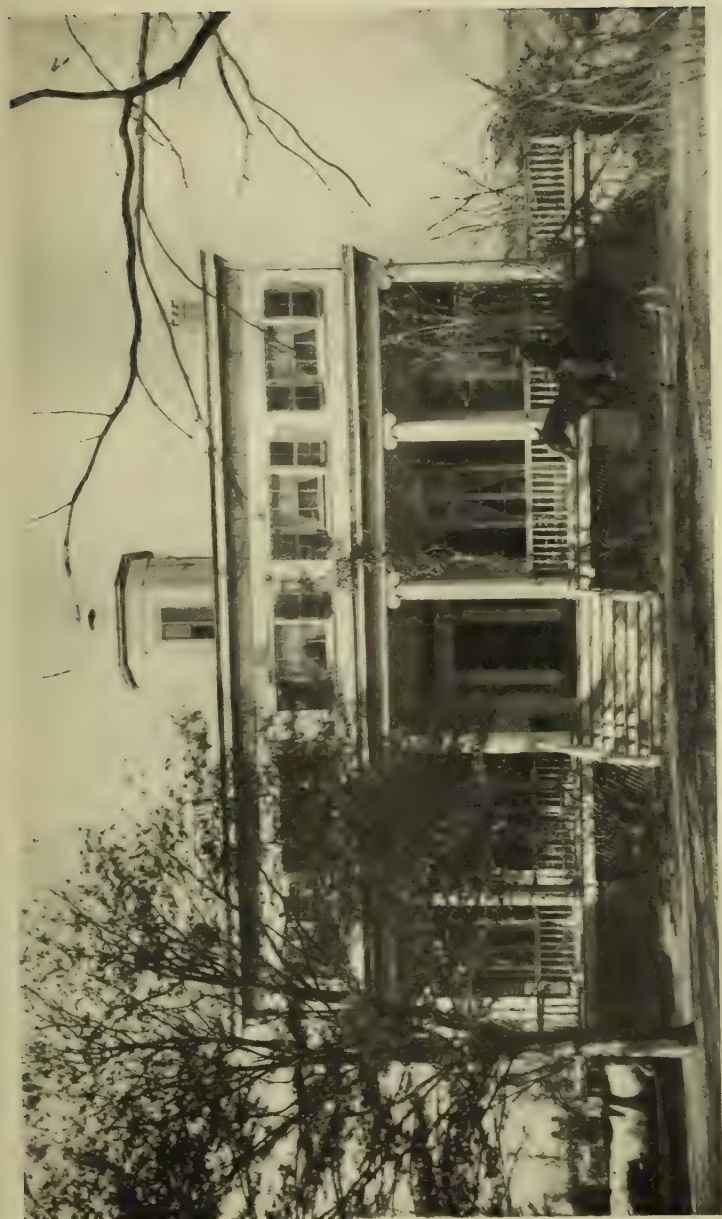
Admiration for her indomitable perseverance, and an interest in the proposed project of attempted reformation, prompted a servant of Christ to authorize her, at his cost, to rent the summer country-seat of one of our ex-mayors. As the mansion was more desirable both for itself and its location, and as the place had two small cottages and out-buildings, giving it further advantage over the former house, the mourned loss proved almost an immediate gain to her work.

By this time the House of Mercy, which had been incorporated in 1855, and placed by the Legislature on a peculiar footing, as an agency of reformation recognized by the State, had a board of trustees consisting of five gentlemen. In 1859 they purchased the mansion of a former vestryman of St. Michael's, Mr. Howland, on 86th Street and North River. This was supposed to be capable of receiving about 100 persons. Thither Mrs. Richmond transferred her penitents, with whom she had come to live after the death of her husband, and there for some years she dwelt with the lost whom she sought to save. Through those earlier years of its existence the institution depended almost entirely upon her exertions for its support.

She begged the money for its maintenance in counting houses, in the street, from door to door. Little by little, however, friends were raised up for it, the board of trustees was enlarged, and in 1860 an associate board of ladies was formed to help in raising funds. Finally, in 1863, Mrs. Richmond turned over the care of this institution to Dr. Peters, who placed it under the direction of the "Sisters." During all this period the rector of St. Michael's Church had been the chaplain of the institution. Mr. Richmond had conducted daily prayers at the House of Mercy as long as his strength permitted. In fact he regarded the institution as a component part of his parish, and so reported it to Convention. After his death Dr. Peters continued to visit it almost daily, until his growing cares obliged him to resign the chaplaincy, in which, about 1869, he was succeeded by Dean Seymour, afterwards Bishop of Springfield. After this the institution as such has no further direct connection with St. Michael's Church or its clergy; but St. Michael's has always continued to be represented on the Ladies' Committee of the institution.

III. *St. Barnabas's House and Midnight Mission.*—When Mrs. Richmond left the House of Mercy she did so only to undertake a further task in the same field.

Many who had sought her Home of penitence came from the streets of the distant City really desirous of reform. She thought, "There may be others left behind them, less determined to do well, but who would enter a home of refuge from sin, if it stood in their daily path, inviting their entrance in any short moment of disgust or remorse." There had by this time become associated with Mrs. Richmond many ladies, as well as a large Board of Trustees, and seeing her first charity—"The House of Mercy"—firmly established, she resigned her superintend-



THE RECTORY OF DR. T. M. PETERS
House in which The Sheltering Arms was Founded

ence of it, that she might be free to make a more direct attack upon the strongholds of Satan. She went down to the very haunts of sin and hired a house, and set its doors ever open, and trod the streets by night, to find guests to fill its chambers.

This she called the Home of the Homeless. Having begun the work, and shown both its practicability and its necessity, she turned it over, in 1865, to the recently established City Mission Society, which re-christened it St. Barnabas's House. It was soon found that there were multitudes in this city innocent of any crime but homelessness. These were brought to St. Barnabas's House by the police, or directed thither by friends. Women applied for admission when discharged from hospitals cured, but too feeble for work. It was obviously undesirable to mingle together such persons and the women in need of moral reform, for whom the house at 304 Mulberry Street was originally established. In 1867, therefore, St. Barnabas's House was appropriated to those who were only homeless, and the Midnight Mission was opened, through the efforts of the Rev. Mr. Hilliard and Dr. Peters, at 260 Green Street, for the reception of the penitent Magdalens. The connection of St. Barnabas's House, now part of the City Mission Society's work, and of the Midnight Mission, later taken over by the Sisters of St. John Baptist, with St. Michael's Church is, of course, indirect, but both of them did, in fact, originate in the work of the rector and members of that parish.

IV. *New York Infant Asylum*.—When Mrs. Richmond turned St. Barnabas's House over to the City Mission Society, she undertook still a new work.

Her experience had shown her that there should be a home to receive the unwedded, expectant mother, not

only and chiefly to save the child from abandonment or violent death, but for the mother's sake, that, through maternal love, she might be won to the heavenly love, and eternally saved.

She went to Albany, during the session of the Legislature, and by her persistence obtained from unconcerned men the admirable charter of the Infant Asylum. In the neighborhood of New York she hired a large house and grounds, and, with the hand of death upon her, began to gather in the intended occupants of this new home, and herself to beg, and *give*, the money required for its maintenance. In the remaining months of her life she received one hundred and fifty of these children, who would never know a father's care, and sheltered and prayed for, and strove with, as many of the mothers as she could induce to share this home with her.

Mrs. Richmond started the Infant Asylum in the colonial house then known as Woodlawn, a rambling old mansion, with various outbuildings, standing in a beautiful wood, fronting on what is now Broadway, at 106th and 107th streets, and stretching down to the river. She was at this time dying of cancer, and her heroism in undertaking this work in the pain of that sickness was beyond words. Suffering almost constantly she yet was able, by God's blessing, in the short time left to her, to place this, her last institution, on so firm a foundation that others could take up and carry on the work after her death. She died in St. Luke's Hospital, January 1, 1866. Further history of this institution, the receiving and city department of which is located at 61st Street and Tenth Avenue, is not a part of the annals of St. Michael's.

V. *The Sheltering Arms*.—In connection with the work of the City Mission Society, committees of ladies were organized to visit the City Prison and various

city institutions in concert with the missionaries. In the City Prison

they found from time to time mothers committed for drunkenness, who were sent to Blackwell's Island. Some of these women had children, who, by the removal of their mothers, were deprived of all care. Even in their degradation, these unhappy mothers had some humanity left, and were concerned for their children's welfare. "They literally lay their children at our feet," said one of the visiting ladies, "imploing us to find them a home." At about the same time, there was brought to the notice of another lady of the same Society a little blind girl, deserted by her parents, without friends, and not of an age to be received at the Blind Asylum. Shortly after, a home was sought, by a working man, for an incurable, motherless, crippled boy. As there was no hope of his restoration, no then existing Hospital or Institution would receive him. Further inquiry resulted in the unexpected discovery that there were in the City of New York, and out of it, large numbers of children, who, though surrounded by many Asylums, were yet without a home, because needing some necessary qualification for admission to Institutions already established. It was also ascertained in the course of these inquiries, that there were many cases of neglect of children, owing to the usual requirements of our charitable Institutions that their inmates should be formally surrendered to the Trustees.

Asylums for the blind and the deaf mutes received inmates only after a certain age. Where were the poor homeless children to spend their earlier years? There were hospitals for sick and crippled children, if curable, but incurables could not be admitted. Some institutions received half-orphans or poor children free, on condition that they be surrendered to the institution, but many parents in pressing need of

temporary assistance were unwilling to surrender their children irrevocably. Moreover a half-orphan asylum could not receive children of a father deserted by his wife, nor of a mother abandoned by her husband, nor of parents who were both sick and in the hospital. There were hundreds of cases in which the family was abandoned by the father, thus throwing the support of the children upon the mother and obliging her, perhaps, to break up the household and go out herself to service.

If she could place her children for a few months or a year in good hands and under Christian training she would gladly do so, provided that when able she might claim them again; "but I cannot," said one of those deserted mothers, "sign away my own flesh and blood."

His work in the City Mission Society brought Dr. Peters directly into contact with all those cases. It became clear to him that, in spite of his objection to multiplying institutions, it was necessary to establish a new institution to care for the children for whom no other institution would provide, making its rules sufficiently broad to enable it to supplement the work of all other institutions for children. Accordingly, in 1864, he called together, in his own house in Bloomingdale a little company of those who he thought would be interested in such an enterprise, and proposed to them the establishment of an institution where "the only qualification for the admission of a child shall be, that it is not entitled to reception elsewhere, and that, in the Institution there is a vacant bed: the children cared for there belong to their parents, not to the Institution, and can be claimed by parents at will: by the introduction of the Cottage system the children are to be distributed into separate

families with a responsible head over each." He had already conferred with the "Sisters," who were willing and ready to undertake charge of this work; and to make this charity possible he offered his own house free of rent for a term of ten years. A board of trustees was at once formed, and on October 6, 1864, The Sheltering Arms, the origin of the name of which institution is related elsewhere, was opened with all its 40 beds taken up, and Sister Sarah in immediate charge of the institution. In 1866 another building was erected by the trustees, at an expense of \$10,000, and the number of children increased to 90, the annual expenses of the institution being at this time about \$11,000.

The opening of the Boulevard compelled the removal of The Sheltering Arms, in 1869, to its present site at 129th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. By this time the institution had attained considerable popularity as meeting a much-felt want, and a great bazaar was organized, to provide and equip new buildings adapted to its needs, the principal promoter being Col. James Montgomery, brother of one of the trustees, Rev. Dr. Montgomery, Rector of the Church of the Incarnation. Almost all of the churches in the city became interested in this bazaar, which was with one exception the largest ever undertaken in the city of New York, realizing something like \$40,000 for the institution, besides bringing it prominently before the attention of the community. This had, however, one unfortunate result. The Sisters had become, since the organization of the Sisterhood, very ritualistic. The publicity given to The Sheltering Arms called attention to this fact. Inquisitive and gossipy people circulated all sorts of stories regarding them and their doings, which found their way shortly into the

public press. Finally matters reached such a pass that the rectors of several of the most prominent churches in the city asked the trustees to make an investigation, with a view to the removal of the Sisters. The president and trustees of the institution stood by the Sisters in spite of the threatened and to some extent actual withdrawal of financial support, but the Sisters, at this juncture, apparently through some misconception of the situation, by advice of their spiritual head, suddenly withdrew from the institution, almost without notice, at Easter of 1870. The result was, for the moment, chaos in the internal administration of the institution, which was relieved by the kindly aid of some Sisters of St. John who came on from Washington to help out in the emergency. Dr. Peters had for some time felt that some such catastrophe was impending, and made such arrangements in advance that within a short time Miss Sarah S. Richmond, daughter of the Rev. James C. Richmond, a former rector of this parish, was put in charge of the institution, of which she continued superintendent until her death, December 21, 1906, when she was succeeded by her sister, Miss Katharine Richmond.

Of all his work, The Sheltering Arms was probably the nearest to the heart of Dr. Peters. It was also very close to the life of the parish. Two of the vestrymen of St. Michael's Church, James Punnett and Dr. D. T. Brown, were among the incorporators, and the list of its trustees includes not a few who have been or still are on the vestry of this parish. The institution itself was an integral part of the parochial work of this church, so continuing even after its removal to Manhattanville.

The removal to Manhattanville, and the erection of

the new buildings, which now house almost 200 children, rendered possible the introduction of the so-called cottage plan, first adopted by Wichern, in the famous *Rauhes Haus*, at Hamburg. The Sheltering Arms was one of the first institutions in this country, if not the first, to adopt and adapt this system, and in this and other particulars, including its name, it has been widely imitated. Aiming to make The Sheltering Arms as uninstitutional as possible, in order to counteract the de-individualizing effects of institutional life, Dr. Peters and the trustees not only adopted the cottage plan, of smaller groups living in families under the care of their own house-mothers, but also did away with uniforms, sent the children to the Public Schools, encouraged frequent visits from and free intercourse with parents and friends, and in every way sought to maintain normal relations between the children under their care and the outside world. In 1874 Dr. Peters established The Sheltering Arms Paper, which continued to be published until 1900, as a means of reporting the affairs of the institution to its numerous friends and securing continually new supporters, and also of spreading general charitable information and attracting attention to the charitable needs of the city at large. He himself contributed numerous sketches and letters to this paper, which was edited by one of his daughters, Miss L. Peters. One feature of the paper was its charity list, compiled by Rev. C. T. Ward, assistant at St. Michael's, which was the first attempt at a systematic reporting of the charities and charitable interests of New York City.

At Dr. Peters's death, in 1893, he was succeeded in the presidency of the institution by Mr. William Alexander Smith, who had not only been concerned with him in

the founding of The Sheltering Arms, but who had also from the outset been a fellow-worker with him in the Mission to Public Institutions and the City Mission Society. Ten years later Mr. Smith resigned and was succeeded by Dr. Peters's eldest son, William Richmond Peters, Senior Warden of St. Michael's Church.

VI. *Sisterhood of St. Mary.* As has been narrated in a previous chapter, after the dissolution of Dr. Muhlenberg's Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, Dr. Peters put some of the former members of that Sisterhood in charge first of the House of Mercy and then of The Sheltering Arms, giving them, at the same time, work of a more parochial character, nursing and the like, in St. Michael's parish. Two years later five of these ladies were formally organized into the Sisterhood of St. Mary, and set apart for their work by the Rt. Rev. Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York, in St. Michael's Church, on the Feast of the Purification, February 2, 1865. By Dr. Peters's suggestion and advice the Rev. Dr. Dix, rector of Trinity Church, became the spiritual adviser of the Sisterhood. Dr. Peters continued to serve for some years as the chaplain of the House of Mercy, and he was also both the spiritual and administrative head of The Sheltering Arms and St. Barnabas's House, which latter institution had been added to the other two institutions under the care of the Sisters in 1865. The Sisters rapidly developed ritualistic tendencies, adopting a more elaborate dress, more rigid rules, and a more mediæval conception of their vows. This led to criticism on the part of some of the directors of the City Mission Society, resulting in their withdrawal in 1867 from St. Barnabas's House, where they were replaced (until 1886) by the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, organized



THE PRESENT RECTORY
House in which Bloomingdale Day Nursery was Founded
Old Tavern Altered and Enlarged

on the same plan on which the Sisterhood of St. Mary was originally organized, so far as costumes and vows are concerned. In 1870 they withdrew from The Sheltering Arms, and the connection of the Sisterhood with St. Michael's Church, where it was originally organized and in which the first five Sisters were set apart, came to an end; only the Sisters are still laid to rest, when their earthly labors are ended in St. Michael's Cemetery. One sweet memento of the connection of the Sisterhood with St. Michael's remains to us in the shape of a spoon for the Communion service presented by Sister Sarah in 1864.

VII. *Bloomington Clinic.* In 1891 four physicians, Drs. TenEyck, Ware, Tracy, and Stevenson, practising in the general neighborhood of the church, organized a clinic and engaged a room on Amsterdam Avenue. Perceiving the benefit of such work for the poor of the parish, the Rector of St. Michael's Church joined with them, agreeing to pay one half of the rent. Later he gave the Clinic at a nominal rent a room in Lyceum Hall, on 99th Street, and when the church acquired that building for a temporary parish house, in 1893, it made the Clinic a free tenant. Other expenses the doctors paid out of their own pockets or begged from their friends. When the new Parish House was projected, a fine clinic was contained in the plan. This attracted the attention of the late Mrs. Margaret Clendining Lawrence, of the Church of the Incarnation, a granddaughter of John Clendining and Margaret his wife, parishioners of St. Michael's Church in the first half of the nineteenth century, and as a memorial to her grandmother she gave \$500 towards furnishing the Clinic. The rooms designed for the Clinic were not included in the first part of the Parish House, built

in 1897, and the Clinic was housed temporarily in the old choir room beneath the vestry room in the Church. In 1900 only two of the original four doctors remained, namely E. J. Ware and Thomas Stevenson, Jr. The Clinic was re-organized; Dr. John McBarron, Dr. McNeil, and Dr. J. L. Adams were added to the staff, eye, ear, and throat departments created, and a salaried attendant engaged. Up to that time the Clinic had treated every year from 900 to 1200 cases of very poor people. After the reorganization the number of cases increased considerably. Accordingly in 1902, when the remaining portion of the Parish House was built, clinic and consulting rooms very much more elaborate than originally planned were provided by the donor in the basement of that building, and the Clinic installed there. In the following year 1903, it reported 4679 cases of poor people treated.

While housed by St. Michael's the Clinic up to this time was merely a voluntary association of physicians whose work was recognized and assisted by St. Michael's Church on account of its value to the poor. With the passage of the new law governing clinics and dispensaries, in 1905, it became necessary for the Church to assume direct responsibility, and since that date the Bloomingdale Clinic has been officially a part of the parish organization, with the rector of the parish as its corporate head. The physicians on the staff of the Clinic at the present time are Dr. E. J. Ware, Dr. John McBarron, and Dr. John L. Adams, Dr. E. J. Ware, a member of the Vestry, being the actual head of the Clinic.

VIII. *Bloomingdale Day Nursery.* For the sake of completeness, a few more institutions should be mentioned here, whose connection with St. Michael's is

not so direct as that of the preceding. It has been the object of the present rector, so far as possible, to organize neighborhood associations for those works which can and should be undertaken by the whole community, St. Michael's Church giving such assistance as lies in its power, but not undertaking the work as parochial work or claiming exclusive control.

In the year book of 1894 one of the needs to which the attention of the congregation was called was a Day Nursery and Kindergarten. The public schools did not at that time provide for the instruction of the youngest children. In the case of poor families, where the mothers had to go out to work, the lack of some place to which to send the little children was a real hardship, both to the mothers and the children. Either the children had to be left to play on the street all day or be shut up in the apartment. Where the children were still younger the hardship was even greater. We found many cases where the mother might be able to work for the support of the family, if there were some place in which she could leave her little baby, too immature even for a kindergarten, during working hours. With what she could earn she could not afford to pay to have the child cared for by some person hired for the purpose. What was needed was a *crèche* or day nursery. Several ladies in St. Michael's Church became interested in this field and offered either to work in the day nursery, if one could be started, or to give money towards its support.

A meeting was finally called at one of the buildings then used as a temporary parish house, the present rectory, in which were included not only ladies from St. Michael's Church but also ladies from the Protestant churches in the neighborhood, from the Roman Catho-

lic Church of the Holy Name, and others. As a result of this meeting, the Bloomingdale Day Nursery and Kindergarten was organized in 1895, with a board of trustees, of which Mrs. John P. Peters, of St. Michael's, was the president, representing the community at large, there being, in addition to the representatives of all the Christian churches hereabouts, a prominent Jewish lady on the board. In addition an advisory committee of men was formed, of which one of the vestrymen of this church was made chairman. St. Michael's Church gave free of rent the use of the building in which the meeting was held, then known as 223 West 99th Street, and there for about a year the Bloomingdale Day Nursery and Kindergarten was housed. Later the trustees rented a house on 99th Street, east of Amsterdam Avenue, No. 154, and there the Day Nursery is still located, being now the owner of the building. With the extension of age in the public schools downward, the kindergarten became unnecessary and was dropped. The present corporate title of the institution is The Bloomingdale Day Nursery, and the president of the institution at the present time is Mrs. Richard L. Hartley, wife of the pastor of Hope Baptist Church.

The Day Nursery does a valuable work for the neighborhood in general, and for many of the poor women of this parish in particular. As a neighborhood institution it has no direct connection with this church, but we view it with peculiar affection as an institution in whose founding we were concerned. Some of the members of this parish are on its board of trustees, some are contributors to its support, and every Christmas the children of the Sunday School make a donation in kind, bringing and presenting at

the altar condensed milk, cereals, soap, toys, and everything that in their judgment and in the judgment of their mothers is desirable for the little children in The Bloomingdale Day Nursery.

IX. *Bloomingdale Free Circulating Library.* In the same year in which attention was called to the need of a Day Nursery and Kindergarten in the year book of the parish attention was also called to the need of a Parish Library. As a result the year book of 1895 reports the organization of such a library, entitled St. Michael's Free Circulating Library, the libraries of the various guilds of the parish having been consolidated to form the nucleus of the same. This library contained about 700 volumes, largely standard works, but with very few recent books. It was lodged in one of the buildings used as a temporary parish house, 223 West 99th Street, and was opened on Tuesdays from 7 to 9 P.M. and Fridays from 3 to 5 P.M. There was at that time no library of any sort in this neighborhood, that is to say outside of the Sunday School libraries of the various churches. St. Michael's Free Circulating Library was a very feeble attempt to provide a library not only for the parish but also for the neighborhood. One of our vestrymen, Mr. Berrien Keyser, was particularly interested in this work and gave his services in organizing and conducting the library. We hoped to develop it in due time, and in the Parish House plans adopted at that time we laid out an especially large and fine room for our library. It was a hard task raising money for that Parish House, and it was evidently going to be a still harder task to raise the money to support it when built. When should we have our library established on a really worthy basis to serve the neighborhood?

At this time the New York Free Circulating Library was establishing libraries in various parts of the city, and as it appeared to Mr. Keyser and the rector that the Bloomingdale neighborhood was sufficiently important to render it advisable to establish a branch here, they decided to lay the whole case before the authorities of that institution. The case was accordingly presented to the head librarian and by him to the trustees. The church offered to provide rooms for the library in one of the buildings used by it as a temporary parish house, to give to the library all of the books in its possession, and to guarantee if necessary to raise a thousand dollars additional toward the expenses in the first year of its existence. After a careful examination of the neighborhood, on the recommendation of the head librarian, the trustees of the library decided to try the experiment. They accepted the books from St. Michael's Church and the use of the quarters offered for a month or so, to enable the librarians to do the necessary work of binding, cataloguing, etc., but hired permanent quarters in the immediate neighborhood of St. Michael's, on the corner of 100th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, and started there in 1896 the new branch of the New York Free Circulating Library. They did not exact the money guarantee which the church had offered, but in point of fact some hundreds of dollars were collected in the church or from its friends in the neighborhood for the library. The experiment proved so successful, this branch having a larger circulation in the second year than any branch in the city, that the trustees proceeded to erect a fine building on 100th Street just behind St. Michael's Parish House. The name given to the library, at our suggestion, was The Bloomingdale Branch of the New York Free Circulating Library.

As soon as the Bloomingdale Library was started, it being the judgment of the rector of this church that the day of the old-fashioned Sunday School library for Sunday School children had passed, the books of St. Michael's Sunday School library, about 400 in number, were also passed over to the Bloomingdale Library on condition that it should be opened Sunday afternoons; and it was in fact so opened for some years, until the reduction of the city appropriation rendered it unable to pay for the extra work. The relation of this institution to St. Michael's, as will be seen, is only one of instigation, with some slight assistance and support.

X. *Neighborhood Social and Industrial Club.* In 1898 a young lady of the neighborhood, representing the Playground Committee of the Social Reform Club, called on the rector to ask his assistance in providing an out-of-door playground for children. The previous year a Bulgarian, Mr. Tzanoff, had started a movement in Philadelphia to utilize the grounds about the schoolhouses and the vacant lots for playgrounds in order to take the children off the streets. There were placed sandheaps, awnings, benches, parallel bars, and similar simple and inexpensive equipment, and kindergartners, inspectors, and helpers were provided to overlook the sports, keep order, and play with the children. It proved an admirable work, a great blessing to working mothers who were able to take or send little children to these playgrounds while they themselves went out to work for the day; a boon to sick and weakly and lonesome children who found there rest, and sports in which they might take part; and a humanizing and elevating influence for the coarse children who form street gangs largely because they do not know anything better to do with

themselves. The plan having proved so successful in Philadelphia, Mr. Tzanoff was trying to do the same thing for New York and the Social Reform Club, of which the rector was himself a member, was supporting him in his effort, having appointed a committee for that purpose.

After an investigation of all the available vacant lots in the neighborhood, we secured from the owner the use of the block between Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway and 94th and 95th streets. A committee of the local auxiliary of the Federation of Churches was formed and a playground was conducted for about two months in that summer for some 1200 children. Then an association was formed to provide out-of-door playgrounds in the future, with a member of St. Michael's Church, the late Mrs. George E. Poole, at its head, succeeded later by Mrs. Clarence Burns, and for a number of years such playgrounds were provided, first, at the site above named, and then on twelve lots on the south side of 99th Street between Amsterdam Avenue and Columbus Avenue, property belonging to the Merriam estate. The number of children cared for at the last-named site reached 3000. The police testified to the admirable result of the work done by the out-of-door playgrounds in reducing the number of petty thefts and the annoyances of one sort and another by children in the streets, and the shopkeepers of the neighborhood, appreciating the advantage of the playground to them in this direction, were among the contributors to its support. The work was so evidently needed and accomplished such good results that finally the Board of Education was induced to take it up and establish summer schools and playgrounds at different points throughout the city. This,

with the building up of the vacant lots in this neighborhood, led finally to the abandonment of the playground itself in 1904. During part of this time the playground had been connected with the local auxiliary of the Federation of Churches, of which the rector of St. Michael's was president; and during the whole period the rector of St. Michael's Church had guaranteed any deficit, and the meetings of the organization had been held in St. Michael's Parish House.

The experiences of the playground demonstrated the need of clubs and associations for both boys and girls of the neighborhood who were not included in church organizations already existing. The boys, as they grew up, became hoodlums, simply because they had no place to play, and no proper channel into which to direct their energies. The attempt to provide club rooms and an organization for them has not up to the present met with success, partly from a lack of the right sort of workers. In the case of the girls, the ladies found that as they began to go into employment, first as cash girls and then as shop girls, they needed and sought places of amusement in the evenings, and that not a few of them were beginning to frequent the dance halls which were springing up in connection with saloons, especially in the neighborhood of 110th Street. The rector of this church offered the Parish House one evening a week as a club house for these girls if the ladies would form an organization to take care of them, provide proper amusement, classes of instruction for those who needed it, and the like. At first the ladies feared lest, many of the girls being Roman Catholics by origin and in name, they might refuse to come into a building which belonged to a Protestant Church. After some hesitation, how-

ever, no other place being available, they agreed to make the experiment. It soon proved that no such prejudice existed and three years ago the Neighborhood Social and Industrial Club was organized, Mrs. Clarence Burns at its head, with a membership of 210 girls. Here the girls, none or almost none of whom belong to this church, meet one evening in each week to attend classes, dance or have a good time as the case may be.

One incident will show what this Club and the Parish House where it meets mean in the lives of some of these girls. A girl whom the clergy of this parish did not know came here with a young man to be married. It turned out that, having come to this city from Connecticut to work in a factory, without home or friends or any place to spend her evenings, she had somehow found her way into the Neighborhood Club. Now that she was to be married she had come back to be married in the one place which had stood in her experience for healthful and pleasant associations. Before she was married she took the young man around the Parish House from place to place, telling him what she had done here and what she had learned there, and the good times she had enjoyed in another place.

At her death Mrs. Poole left a legacy of \$2000 to this Club, and the intention of the trustees is, as soon as sufficient funds are raised, to hire or purchase a building of their own, as a club-house, continuing probably to use the auditorium of the Parish House for larger gatherings once a week or less frequently as the case may be.

XI. *Bloomington District Nurse Association.*—This Association was organized in 1905, at the suggestion of Mrs. Adolphe Openhym, who is also the first Presi-

dent of the Association, to provide a district nurse for poor people of the district without regard to race or creed. Like the two preceding institutions it is on a neighborhood basis and managed by a committee of ladies. It has the same relation to St. Michael's Church as the preceding organizations, namely that it has been welcomed by that church and supported by it and by its rector to the extent of their ability, and that the Parish House has been placed at its disposal and free headquarters provided there in connection with the Clinic.

CHAPTER XVI

ST. MICHAEL'S CEMETERY

MOST of the old churches of New York had cemeteries connected with them, and not a few of the public squares of the New York City of to-day are the churchyards and burial grounds of the old New Yorkers of the past, not to speak of those which, like Washington Square and Bryant Square, were at different periods, Potter's Fields. When St. Michael's Church was started there were apparently two churchyards in Harlem, the Dutch Reformed and the Friends', and one cemetery of some description at Fort Washington. Besides these graveyards people buried their dead also in private cemeteries on their own grounds. A relic of this use is the grave of "The Amiable Child," near Grant's Tomb on Riverside Drive; and as late as 1866 there were other similar graves to be found at various points in the upper part of the island. For the accommodation of its parishioners St. Michael's provided, at the outset, a cemetery in connection with the church in the churchyard surrounding the first building. The first record of a burial there is the following: "On Friday morning June 22nd, 1809, at St. Michael's Bloomingdale buried Joseph Armstrong Aged 2 years & 17 days the son of the Sexton of the Church—Scarf and Gloves." Mr. Bartow records

the receipt of the customary scarf and gloves, given in connection with funerals, which the minister was expected to wear in the church service of the following Sunday. The remains of Joseph Armstrong lie beneath the present church and his gravestone is in the Crypt.

From the Vestry records it appears that in 1810 permission was given to Jacob Schieffelin to erect a vault in the churchyard, of which permission he does not seem to have taken advantage. Later, when he deeded to St. Mary's, Manhattanville, the land for a church, he reserved the right to erect a vault, and did in fact erect in front of that church a vault which was used by the Schieffelin family for many years. In the same year, 1810, the Vestry voted a general permission to erect vaults in St. Michael's Churchyard, 8 x 10 feet, on payment of twenty-five dollars. In 1814 there was some difficulty with the city in regard to the burial ground, and a committee consisting of Valentine Nutter and Oliver H. Hicks was appointed "to communicate with the corporation of the City relative to the burying-ground attached to the Church of St. Michael and obtain such relief as to them shall appear proper." What the difficulty was, does not appear from the records, but from the report of the committee it does appear that, whatever it was, the city had no power to give redress. The first notice of the cost of a burial in St. Michael's occurs in the Vestry minutes of August 16, 1827, when it is directed that \$5.00 shall be charged for the burial of each person over 14 and \$3.00 for each person under 14 years. At about this time also, it became necessary to make some provision for the burial of the poor connected with the church. The church had purchased from Alderman

John R. Peters a little over an acre of ground at Clendining Lane and 103d Street, which was no longer required for school purposes, the school having been handed over to the Public School Society. Accordingly, on July 12, 1828, the Vestry voted to appropriate the school-house lot for a cemetery.

From a report of a committee appointed to consider the expediency of selling a part of the old school-house property in 1864, we extract the following account of the use of this property for burial purposes:

Upon consulting the Book of Minutes of the proceedings of the Vestry of St. Michael's Church it appears that in the year 1825 the property in Clendinings lane now held by this Corporation, was purchased at a cost of \$237—for the accommodation of the Parish School. In the year 1826, the Trustees of the Public School having agreed to provide for the education of the children, the Parish School was given over to their care.

At a Vestry meeting held on the 7th of April, 1825, a Committee was appointed to consider the expediency of purchasing additional ground for the burial of the dead. This Committee reporting progress & continued for two years was finally discharged Aug. 26, 1827.

On the 5th day of December 1827, at a special meeting of the Vestry Messrs. Thorne, Weyman & Jas. F. De Peyster were appointed a Committee to purchase a piece of ground opposite to St. Michael's Church. On the 2nd day of July 1828 this Committee reported that they had been unable to procure the ground designated and asked to be discharged, which request was granted. At the same meeting the three gentlemen above named were re-appointed a Committee to make such disposition of the School House lot "as they should deem most advantageous and report thereon at the next call of the Vestry and also whether a suitable lot can be purchased for a Burial ground." At a Vestry Meeting held ten days later the

Committee reported that, finding their endeavors fruitless in obtaining a suitable piece of ground, they had agreed in recommending the following resolution: "Resolved That the School House lot 'be appropriated as a Cemetery, be surrounded with a stone wall & forthwith put in due order.' "

This resolution was adopted by the Vestry.

The School House Lot thus became the Cemetery of this Church & continued to be so used, as appears from the Parish Register, down to the year 1854.

In the year 1852, by a city ordinance all burying on the Island below 86th Street, excepting in family vaults was prohibited. An attempt was made at about the same time to pass a law closing all burying grounds on the Island, Trinity Cemetery excepted. The attention of some members of the Vestry being thus directed to their burying ground it was deemed by them undesirable to continue using it as a place of interment. Accordingly since the year 1852 there have been but four bodies buried in the School House lot & since the year 1854 it has ceased entirely to be used for burial purposes.

But to return to the churchyard. It was evidently the intention, when the school-house lot was appropriated as a burial ground for the poor, that the churchyard should be reserved for the members of the congregation proper. Accordingly, on April 14, 1830, it is voted that none but pewholders or members of their families shall be interred in the churchyard. By this time the old churchyards in the city were being filled up, many were closed as churchyards, and in those which remained the land was held at high prices. The great cemeteries of our day were all of them yet in the future. The first of these, Greenwood, was not founded until 1838. The first separate cemetery on Manhattan Island, Trinity Cemetery, was founded four years later,

in 1842, on what was then Bloomingdale Road and 155th Street, at the extreme northern limit of the projected city. Five years later, in 1847, a general cemetery law was passed. It was apparently partly the increasing lack and expense of land in the city churchyards which brought about at this period a demand for vaults in St. Michael's Churchyard. Some of the old families had doubtless also come to count this as their home church, preferring at least to be buried in the rural quiet and beauty of the charming little churchyard in Bloomingdale, rather than in a city cemetery. So it came about that between 1830 and 1834 there was a considerable demand for vaults in St. Michael's Churchyard. To this period belong the Weyman, Wagstaff, Waldo, DePeyster, Delafield, Hazzard, Chisolm, and Windust vaults. By this time also land, even in quiet little St. Michael's Churchyard, was becoming valuable, and for permission to build these vaults \$150 was paid, not \$25 as at an earlier date. Thirty years later, in 1865, this land had become so valuable to the church, which needed room for enlargement, erection of Sunday School building, etc., that the Vestry offered to buy in all vaults at the rate of \$300 each, to which offer there seems, however, to have been no response.

In 1870 the opening of Amsterdam Avenue disturbed portions both of the Churchyard around the Church and also of the burying ground on Clendining Lane, and the following resolution was adopted by the Vestry:

Resolved, that the Treasurer be authorized to pay the amount of expense incurred in removing the remains of bodies interred in the graveyard adjoining the Church, and which may be disturbed by the work of grading the Tenth Avenue by the City authorities. The remains so disturbed

to be deposited in the Church Cemetery at Newtown. The Clerk of the Vestry was directed to insert in one or more public newspapers notice of such removal and of names of deceased whose remains may be thus exposed.

In accordance with this resolution the clerk of the Vestry inserted the following advertisement in the *New York Herald*:

Saint Michael's Church, Corner Bloomingdale Road & 99th St., N. Y. City. D. T. Brown, Clerk.

In removing the bodies buried in that portion of the Old Churchyard disturbed by the laying of the Croton-water-pipes, the remains have been identified and not yet claimed, of Paul Lee, Surgeon in the British Army, died 1822, aged 63 years. Isabella Lee, died 1822, aged 63. John Cinnamon, died 1827, aged 33. Ann W. C. Froup, died 1828, aged 48. Rich'd S. Ritchie died 1836, aged 24 yrs.

These remains will be deposited for four months in the receiving vault of St. Michael's Cemetery near Astoria, L. I., to await the instructions of friends of the deceased. By Order of the Vestry.

While the Clendining Lane burying ground ceased to be used for burials in 1854, St. Michael's Churchyard continued to be so used for almost twenty years longer. The last interment of which I find record is that of Abraham Valentine Williams, son of Dr. A. V. Williams, a former warden of the church, in 1873. At the erection of the new church, in 1891, the old churchyard was built into the church. Some of the old graves and vaults were opened at that time by their owners and the remains therein interred removed to other cemeteries,¹ but the greater part were left undisturbed, and the old graveyard lies to-day beneath the chancel

¹The Cemetery Committee reported the "removal of bodies from graveyard and from DePeyster vault to the number of about 100."

and the southern half of the nave of the church. St. Michael's Church is, we believe, the only church in this city, perhaps in this country, in which the graves of the dead of former generations lie beneath the feet of the worshippers of to-day. The tombstones of these graves were reverently removed and placed in the crypt beneath the Chapel of the Angels on the line of old Bloomingdale Road. This crypt serves also as a mortuary chapel, where the remains of the dead of the present congregation may be deposited between death and burial.

In examining the stones of earlier date in this crypt one is impressed by the relatively large proportion of persons born in England, Ireland, and Scotland, a reminder of the fact that the church of those days still stood very close to the colonial period. Among the more interesting of these tombstones is that of Thomas M. Finlay, A.M., born in Armagh, Ireland, in 1756, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and one time Professor of Greek and Latin in the college of his native town. Emigrating to this country he taught school with much success first in Newark, and then at Manhattanville. In his school-house at the latter place St. Mary's Church was founded. A grateful pupil furnished a Latin epitaph for his tombstone, and his widow kept the grass fresh and the flowers blooming there until 1872, when she herself died at the age of 101.

The gravestone of a lad of sixteen, now in the crypt, used to be shown to the children of St. Michael's of earlier generations as a warning against Sabbath breaking. This lad, Hiram Black, did not, like Hogarth's apprentice, play dice on the tombstones while his honest comrades worshipped in the church. But he did, it appears, take advantage of the fact that all decent

and godly folk were in church, to climb a neighbor's cherry tree and gorge himself with cherries. I suppose that in the haste of eating stolen fruit, keeping an eye out at the same time against the return of the church goers, the poor lad swallowed unwittingly and unwillingly a few cherry stones, which found their way into that needless and then unknown organ, the appendix vermiformis. At all events he died as a result of eating stolen cherries on the Sabbath, and many a parent used to take his children to that gravestone and tell the story of Hiram Black that his sad fate might prove their warning.

One epitaph on the tombstone of Obed Thayer, who died in 1816, is worth quoting as a specimen of the obituary taste of that period:

My tender wife I leave to mourn and weep,
While I within the silent tomb do sleep;
Prepare for death in time, for you must die,
And also be entom'd as well as I.

How lonely is his widow's fate,
Since she has lost her tender mate;
Thy virtues, Thayer, although they're nameless here,
Shall long be told by Elizabeth's silent tear.

The churchyard about the church providing only for the members of the church itself, it became necessary after the disuse of the Clendining Lane burying ground to provide some other place for the burial of the poor of the parish and neighborhood.

In 1847, Rev. T. M. Peters, assistant at St. Michael's Church, commenced his mission in what is now Central Park,

then a wilderness of rock and swamp from the larger portion

of which the trees and brush, which once in part concealed its barrenness, had been cleared away by the poor settlers for use as firewood. From East to West three roads crossed this tract and from these roads winding footways and narrow cart paths led to the habitations of poor and wretched people of every race and color and nationality, who had there taken refuge. In this waste there was but a single village, known as Seneca, occupied by many families of colored people with whom consorted and in many cases amalgamated, debased and outcast whites. Many of the inhabitants of this village had no regular occupation, finding it easy to replenish their stock of fuel with driftwood from the river and supply their tables from the same source, with fish. Poverty abounds in children and the colored village of which we speak formed no exception to the prevailing rule. . . . With no reference to the future or other thought beyond that of providing for the spiritual destitution, an unfinished room in the centre of the settlement was hired and rudely furnished with plank seats. The small room was soon crowded with forty colored children, the number being limited by the narrowness of the apartment. As a necessary accompaniment of the work there begun, the families were visited, advised, and, when necessary, assisted. Like all thriftless mortals, in the day of health they had only enough. Sickness almost invariably brought great destitution. Death, with its many attendant expenses, obliged these poor people either to give up the bodies of their nearest and dearest relations for burial in "Potter's Field," or incur a debt which only months of saving could extinguish. The greatest pressure of distress was felt, therefore, in cases of death, and the charity most needed there was some effort to reduce or meet the high charges for funerals and burials. After the lapse of two years, an unexpected gift of a piece of ground was made to this Mission by four sisters, of whom, up to that time, the Missionary had never heard; a convenient building for the Sunday school and public

worship was soon erected, and the remainder of the ground allotted to the burial of the poor dead.

Immediately thereafter followed the cholera of 1849, and many a body received a Christian burial owing to this unlooked for gift of ground. The great relief which the opportunity of free burial afforded to these poor people had been scarcely realized, when an act was passed at Albany closing this and other burial places in New York City lying below Eighty-sixth Street.¹

How Dr. Peters provided a burial place not only for these poor people but for all the poor people of the city is recorded in a paper which he prepared in 1874 at the request of the City Mission Society for *Church and State*, from which we quote the following:

In the early part of the year 1852, interments having been prohibited by the legislature in the ground used for three years previous, I desired to procure, in Astoria, a small piece of land, as a place of burial for the poor ministered to in connection with All Angels' Church, built by me a few years earlier, in what is now the Central Park. The kindly proffered services of a friend² accustomed to seek exercise and recreation on horseback, were accepted for the purpose of looking up such a lot. After a long search he reported failure to find anything desirable at the price named, which was from two to four hundred dollars, but that a field containing seven acres, lying within two miles of the Astoria Ferry, was offered for sale at twenty-one hundred dollars, eleven hundred in cash, the remainder to rest as a mortgage on the property. The sum required to be paid down exceeded all my worldly possessions, and the project then suggested itself of interesting other parties in securing the land as a place of burial for all the Free Churches in our communion in the City of New York. An attempt

¹*Gradual Growth of Charities.*

²Thomas A. Richmond, then a vestryman of St. Michael's.

was accordingly made to obtain money by subscription. Little interest was manifested in the enterprise. Beyond a donation of twenty-five dollars from the late Robert B. Minturn, a like sum from the late James Punnett, and fifty cents given by a colored woman named Venus Costello, nothing could be collected. Hence this method was necessarily abandoned. The money donation was afterwards applied towards paying for St. Luke's Hospital lot. Recourse was next had immediately to the persons to be benefited, and the sum of eighty-one dollars was contributed by forty-one persons, who received certificates to be used in payment of graves and small family lots. Thirty-seven of these subscribers were colored; four were white people living in the immediate vicinity of the upper reservoir. The names of the forty-one are written in a book, as are indeed the names of every person aiding in the purchase either by gift or loan. Dr. Muhlenberg for the Church of the Holy Communion, and Dr. Bedell, now Bishop of Ohio, for Ascension Church, contributed each one hundred and ten dollars, receiving the promise of a burial plot for each of their respective Churches when the transaction should be completed. The whole amount thus far accumulated, was but three hundred and fifty-one dollars and fifty cents, and further progress towards raising the necessary funds seemed well nigh hopeless. As a last resort my plans were laid before a few friends, and loans, to me personally, asked for the object. There were thus secured two loans of three hundred dollars each, one of one hundred and sixty, one of one hundred and fifty, one of one hundred and twenty-three, and one of one hundred and sixteen dollars, all of which were in due time paid.

The amount in hand had been thus increased to fifteen hundred dollars, the property was bought, in my name, the payment of eleven hundred dollars made, and a fence with covered gateway erected upon the road in front. The expense of mapping and laying out the ground and building a temporary lodge for the keeper had next to be met. This

was done with funds solicited upon condition of assigning a plot of about eighty-six hundred feet to St. Luke's Hospital for the burial of deceased patients. The sum of two hundred and eighty-four dollars and twenty-three cents was thus gathered, to which I added two hundred and sixty-five dollars and twenty-five cents; all the money, if my memory serves me aright, of which I was then possessed. With this five hundred forty-nine and one-half dollars the work of putting the ground in proper order was prosecuted until the purse was again emptied. The receipts for burials began to yield enough for current expenses and to leave a surplus, which was applied to the erection of an enclosing fence and to other improvements. Deeming it unsafe that land set apart for a cemetery should stand in the name of an individual, and also that it was undesirable to have a mortgage on graves; I proposed to the Vestry of St. Michael's Church, of which I was Assistant Minister, as well as Rector of All Angels' Church, to receive a conveyance of the land and to advance the remaining one thousand dollars. This was done, with the proviso that the interest, and the expectation that the principal of the money thus applied, should be repaid out of the income of the ground; to which alone I was to look, during the ensuing ten years, for reimbursement of any expenditures made upon it by me.

Although it was early demonstrated that the receipts of the ground would suffice for current expenses and interest, there was yet much to be done in the way of improvement, for which other funds must be obtained. It was my wish to complete the first intention of making this a neat and proper burial place, in a portion of which free graves might always be given to the poor of our Free Churches and inmates of public and private institutions. So soon, therefore, as I became a holder of any private property, whatever amount seemed necessary for the betterment of the cemetery was so applied. To secure beyond question the free burial place desired, I gave in 1855 the sum of five

hundred and sixty dollars, stipulating that a certain plot known as "C," should be forever appropriated to the burial of members of Free Churches and the inmates of charitable institutions, the only charge to be that of digging the grave. Twelve hundred and ninety-four free interments, chiefly for the City Mission Society, have been made in the piece of ground thus set aside.

From that date, 1855, I had no hesitation in expending upon the Cemetery whatever was requisite to adorn it with trees, supply proper fences, erect a lodge, and otherwise improve it. By the purchase of an adjoining field the size of the Churchyard was nearly doubled, and when in 1865 St. Michael's Vestry assumed and gave its bond for the whole indebtedness, the amount advanced by me above all gifts and receipts had reached, with interest, to within a trifle of eight thousand dollars. Since that time the Vestry has paid, out of the return of the ground, the amount for which it thus became responsible, as well as the larger portion of about five thousand dollars, expended by it upon the lodge, iron fences, gateway, and roads. Besides the financial difficulties, legal impediments and sanitary regulations were from time to time thrown in our way, every one of which, without the aid of other parties, was triumphantly overcome and final success achieved. The part of the Churchyard yet unused will suffice for the wants of the Church for long years to come, and allow free burial to many hundreds of those in whose interest this cemetery was first purchased. Besides the free interments already enumerated, nine hundred and eighty-four free graves have been given by St. Luke's Hospital, the Churches of the Holy Communion, the Holy Apostles, Trinity, and other churches, and also by The Sheltering Arms and various charitable or other incorporations, making a total of twenty-two hundred and five bodies which have been buried at a very moderate cost, easily borne by their friends in humble life.

When it is considered that each deceased person leaves

a home bereaved, and that each member of that household, however poor, desires to give the dead an orderly burial, it will at once be seen that forty-six hundred such burials means five times forty-six hundred mourners in some degree comforted. There are persons who esteem the burial of the dead an unnecessary charity, inasmuch as the Potter's Field is open to all. Let such go with our visitors to the homes of the poor, to the bedside of the sick in the hospitals, and they will learn that next to the dread of the pains of hell is horror at the thought that the church might have no grave for them. The death bed is made less painful, when they are assured that our ministrations will not cease, until they have received at our hands the last gift of earth. Plentiful tears and expressions of gratitude, from daughters and sons, from fathers, and above all from mothers, who in the day of bereavement and poverty know not whither to go or look, almost daily witness to the grateful and opportune relief which this cemetery affords. Unlike almost all other institutions, it has no competitor or imitator. Our church, I believe, stands alone among all Christian bodies in this city in having a ground in which the pastors of her thirty free congregations, or the missionaries to hospital and asylum can receive, without purchase, a resting place for their dead.

Reference is made in this account to a transaction with Dr. Peters by which the Cemetery in Astoria was transferred to St. Michael's Church. The transaction is recorded in the following documents and resolutions in the Register of St. Michael's Church:

To the Vestry of St. Michael's Church.

GENTLEMEN:

Having purchased 7 acres of land at Astoria on the Flushing Turnpike after consultation with a majority of the members of the Vestry for a Cemetery to be called St. Michael's Churchyard for the sum of \$2100, and being

desirous of conveying the same to the Vestry, clear of a mortgage of \$1000, remaining due thereon, I have considered that it would be advantageous to have the mortgage paid off & cancelled, and purpose that the Vestry should pay the mortgage, and for security receive a Deed for the Church at Yorkville called the Church of All Angels & four lots of land adjoining, now indebted to me \$1000, which Church will be conveyed clear and unincumbered.

It is however to be understood that I am to be reimbursed the sum of \$2100 thus advanced by me for the purchase of the Cemetery, out of the sales of Burial Plots in the same, and also such sums as I may pay for the charge and improvement of the ground and the erection of a Chapel thereon, if the same shall be deemed advisable.

Respectfully,

(Signed) THOMAS McC. PETERS.

New York, March 14, 1853.

Report To the Vestry of St. Michael's Church.

The *Committee* to whom was referred the annexed letter from the Rev. T. McC. Peters Respectfully *Report* That they have examined into the subject matter of the said letter, and *submit* the following views thereon:

Mr. Peters after *verbal consultation* and *advice* of a number of the Vestry, during the absence of the Rector, purchased for \$2100 a lot of 7 acres of land at Newtown near Astoria, for a Cemetery to be called "St. Michael's Church-yard," paying \$1100 in cash, and giving a mortgage of \$1000, the balance of the consideration.

Some years ago he erected a Church at Yorkville near 8th Avenue called the Church of All Angels, by means of contributions collected by him, and funds advanced by himself upon four lots, the title of which is under his control; which Church he considers now indebted to him at least \$1000.

Both of these *properties* have greatly increased in *value*, since the title vested in Mr. Peters, but he is not desirous

of realizing any profit, as he considers himself acting as a Trustee in both cases for the best interests of the Church.

Mr. Peters *proposes now*, that the Vestry of St. Michael's Church shall *pay off* and cancel the *mortgage* of \$1000 on the Cemetery at New Town on receiving a deed from him for the same. Reserving the right to manage the same for 10 years, or until he can reimburse himself within that time, the whole sum of \$2100 advanced, out of the sales of burial plots, and also such sums as he may pay for the improvement thereof.

Mr. Peters also *proposes to pay* to the *Treasurer* of St. Michael's Church semi-annually, the yearly sum of \$70 out of the monies received for sales of Burial Plots, being his interest on the said \$1000 advanced, until said Church shall be reimbursed the said sum from the sale of the Yorkville property, or from the sale of Burial Plots in the Cemetery.

He also *proposes* to have *conveyed by deed* to the *Vestry of St. Michael's the Church of All Angels*, and the said 4 lots at Yorkville to secure the said sum of \$1000 clear and unencumbered.

The ultimate result of these arrangements as we *Report*, will be that the Vestry of St. Michael's Church will own a Cemetery of 7 acres of land at New Town, and also 4 lots of land at Yorkville, with the Church of All Angels erected thereon, upon advancing only the sum of \$1000, as Mr. Peters looks to the sale of Burial Plots alone to reimburse him or his heirs, the \$2100 advanced by him, & the monies paid out by him in regulating & managing the Cemetery, he retaining the management for 10 years, unless sooner paid.

Your Committee therefore submits the following *Resolution* for adoption by the Vestry viz.:

Resolved That the Treasurer be authorized & directed to pay the sum of \$1000 due on mortgage on "St. Michael's Churchyard" at Newtown & cancel the same, upon receiving from Mr. Peters a conveyance for the same, reserving

to himself the right of managing the same until such time, not exceeding 10 years from the date thereof, as he shall be reimbursed the monies expended by him, for the purchase and improvement of said premises, with the interest thereof, & Mr. Peters agreeing to pay St. Michael's Church \$70 a year, semi-annually, while his right of managing said Cemetery continues. Mr. Peters next by himself or his heirs to receive the sum of \$2100, and also such sums as he may expend for the charge & improvement of said ground, out of the proceeds of the sales of burial plots therein.

Said Treasurer also to receive a Conveyance of the Church of All Angels and four lots at Yorkville as above, clear & unencumbered.

April 30th, 1853.

	R. L. SCHIEFFELIN,	} Committee.
(Signed.)	A. V. WILLIAMS	
	JAS. F. DEPEYSTER.	

By 1864 the indebtedness of the Cemetery to Dr. Peters had increased to \$8000, as is shown by the report of the Committee on the sale of the Clendining Lane land. The cost of surveying and mapping out lands, opening roads, erecting gateways and keeper's lodge, building 2500 feet of high picket fence, planting out many trees and shrubs and other improvements and the purchase of six more acres of land, increasing the original seven acres to thirteen acres, had caused this additional indebtedness. It was the opinion of the committee that \$6300 might be paid by the sale of a portion of the school-house lot and it was their expectation that in time the receipts from the Cemetery would discharge the entire debt "and also add to the present income of the Vestry, a sum sufficient to pay the annual interest upon the funded debt of the Church." In point of fact the Clendining Lane land was not sold

for this purpose at that time. In 1870, however, the church sold to the village of Astoria for \$3600 two acres of its land for a village cemetery.

There is no report of the actual administration, interments, receipts, etc., of the Cemetery entered on the Vestry minutes until 1866. In that year the receipts were \$707.25 and the expenses were \$411.81, leaving a balance of \$305.44, out of which \$176.80 were expended in the erection of a receiving vault, so that only \$128.64 were actually paid to the Treasury. The total number of interments in that year was 283, but the report states that "the receipts of the Cemetery have been much diminished by the stoppage of the Astoria boats for five months out of twelve." From that time on the rector presents a report of the Cemetery to the Vestry each year. Evidently the latter is concerned in the financial side of those reports, for in 1867 it "was resolved that free burials in the Church Cemetery at Newtown, Long Island, be discontinued after the end of the present year except from St. Michael's Parish."

When the Cemetery in Astoria was started Dr. Peters placed in charge of it Christian Scheurer, one of the German refugees of 1848, to whom he had before that given a home in Manhattanville, to cultivate the land held by him for St. Mary's Church, and Christian Scheurer, his widow, and his son Edward after him, continued in charge of the Cemetery until 1895. Up to about 1875 the rector seems to have had no assistance from the Vestry as a body in the administration of the Cemetery, although Dr. Brown personally gave him much help. After Mr. W. R. Peters became treasurer of the church and Mr. E. L. Tiemann¹ clerk

¹ After he left the Vestry in 1895, and up to the time of his death, May 10, 1896, Mr. Tiemann continued to serve on the Cemetery

of the Vestry, however, they, with the rector of the parish, were appointed a Committee on the Cemetery, and from that time onward occur notices (1883, '86, '88, '89) of enlargements and improvements of the Cemetery, laying out of roads, grading of ground, adoption of new methods of cemetery administration, the erection of a new lodge or rather rebuilding of an old farmhouse to serve as a lodge, etc. The following minute from the records of the Vestry meeting of February 6, 1885, gives some idea of the development of the Cemetery up to that date and the method which it was proposed to pursue in the future:

Mr. W. R. Peters stated that the object of the meeting was to consider a proposition to extend the Cemetery by the acquisition of more ground, and gave a short history of the Cemetery from the time it was started by Dr. Peters in 1852, when a few acres were purchased by him at his own risk, with the particular object of providing a burial ground for poor people at small expense, and which should be wholly under control of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was carried along by him until 1865, up to which time the amount expended in excess of receipts was about \$8000. A bond for this amount was executed by the Vestry of this Church, who thereby acquired the title and control of the property.

The indebtedness had all been covered by 1875, and from that date until 1883 there had been paid into the Church Treasury the net sum of about \$21700.

Committee, and to his zeal and diligence the church is largely indebted for the development and improvement of that property. Of his work the Committee says in its report to the Vestry, October 12, 1896:

"By his sudden taking away we have lost a valuable friend and co-worker, and the Cemetery has been deprived of the guiding hand which almost unaided has directed it for the past ten or fifteen years."

The old ground having been nearly all sold, a purchase of about 13 acres adjoining was made in 1883, and an act of the Legislature secured permitting the increase of the Cemetery to the extent of 50 acres in addition to the original 13 acres (about).

The favorable position of the ground, situated within only $1\frac{5}{8}$ miles of the upper part of the city, and the almost certain prospect of securing, for the benefit of the church, a steady and increasing income, suggested the desirability and importance of acquiring as much of the surrounding property as possible, provided advantageous terms could be arranged with the owners and the necessary permission be obtained from the Board of Supervisors or other competent authority. On investigation it appeared that the cemetery was bounded on the west by the Bowery Bay Road, the boundary line between Newtown and Astoria; on the Southwest by lands of the Hanson Estate, which could not be sold until all the heirs were of age; on the Southeast, East and Northeast by the lands of Wm. Steinway: and North by lands of Drs. Peters and Brown.

Negotiations were opened with Mr. Steinway on the basis by which Woodlawn Cemetery had been formed, viz., the owners of property contributing their lands to be paid 50% of the proceeds when sold. The final result of the conference with Mr. Steinway, as set forth in the proposition which will now be laid before the Vestry for their action, will be found to be nearly 20% more favorable than the above.

In order to acquire Mr. Steinway's land, as here proposed, it was supposed to be necessary to secure an act of the Legislature authorizing an increase in the size of the Cemetery. A bill for this purpose was introduced at Albany, but held up by those in power, who intimated that, inasmuch as there was profit in such a transaction, they must have their share and that the bill could be passed only on payment of \$5000. Being

a Church corporation St. Michael's could scarcely engage in the corruption of the Legislature, and the bill was accordingly allowed to drop. Fortunately, however, the legal members of the Vestry and its legal advisors discovered a provision of the general cemetery law, theretofore overlooked, which rendered such an act of Legislature unnecessary, as under that law it was already quite competent to increase the acreage of the Cemetery. Finally, however, instead of the system proposed by Mr. Peters in 1885, the Committee adopted the plan of buying land outright, agreeing to pay for it out of the receipts on a co-operative basis. Under this plan the acreage has now been increased to 74 acres, held by the church entirely free from debt, of which about 50 acres is still unsold and available for burial purposes, the yearly absorption at the present time being about one half an acre.

The growth of the Cemetery has been steady and during part of the period rapid. In 1866 Dr. Peters reported 283 interments. In 1880 there were 493 interments; in 1890, 1426; in 1900, 1640; in 1906-07, 1789. While in the latter years the number of interments has not increased so rapidly as in the decade 1880-90, on the other hand the sale of lots in the latter period has been proportionately larger. St. Michael's is becoming more of a family cemetery.

Among the churches and institutions having plots in St. Michael's Cemetery at the present time are the Home for the Aged Men and Aged Couples, Italian P. E. Mission in Bleecker Street, Trinity Church, St. Luke's Hospital, Transfiguration Church, St. Michael's Church, St. Mary's Church, St. Timothy's Church, St. Ann's Church, St. Mary the Virgin's Church, Holy Apostle's Church, Holy Communion Church, Ascension

Church, St. Clement's Church, St. John Baptist Mission House, Sheltering Arms, St. Andrew's Church, All Saints' Church, House of Rest, and City Mission Society.

The original object of the Cemetery, to provide graves for the poor, especially the poor of the Church, has thus been attained, and at the same time the Cemetery has become financially a valuable asset of the Church.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ORIGINAL PEWHOLDERS, 1807, together with the number of the pew and the price paid for a three-year lease of the same.

1. O. H. Hicks.....	\$30.00	27 & 28 Isaac Jones....	\$13.00
2. Dr. Hammersley...	8.00	29. Garrit Van Horne..	11.00
3. Mrs. Hamilton.....	11.00	30. Nathaniel Prime...	18.00
4. R. T. Kemble.....	11.00	31. Michael Hogan.....	18.00
5. R. T. Kemble.....	10.00	32. Wm. Rodgers.....	20.00
6. Wm. Rhinelanders..	11.00	33. John McVickar.....	18.00
7. Edward Dunscomb.	10.00	34. John McVickar.....	14.00
8. Valentine Nutter...	11.00	42. John Le Conte.....	8.00
9. Michael Hogan.....	10.00	43. William A. Davis...	12.00
10. Thomas Morgan....	13.00	44. M. L. Davis.....	12.00
11. Jacob Schieffelin...	11.00	45. William Rodgers...	19.00
12. Jacob Mark.....	11.00	46. William Rodgers...	23.00
20. Thomas Cadle	10.00	47. Peter Schermerhorn	25.00
21. Thomas Cadle.....	12.00	48. William Jauncey...	23.00
22. Dr. S. Borrowe.....	14.00	49. Frederick DePeyster	22.00
23. Thomas Slidell.....	14.00	50. Joshua Jones.....	23.00
24. D. M. Clarkson.....	10.00	51. Frederick DePeyster	20.00
25. J. C. Vandenheuvel.	13.00	52. Frederick DePeyster	16.00
26. J. Schieffelin.....	12.00	53. John Jackson.....	30.00

APPENDIX B

LIST OF WARDENS OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

Robert T. Kemble, 1807-1810.	Oliver H. Hicks, 1813-1815.
William Rodgers, 1807-1808, 1815-1818.	James F. DePeyster, 1830-1874.
Valentine Nutter, 1808-1832.	James G. Russell, 1832-1838, 1839-1841.
William A. Davis, 1810-1813, 1818-1830.	Jacob Lorillard, 1838.
	A. V. Williams, 1841-1862.

H. W. T. Mali, 1862-1867.
 James Punnett, 1867-1871.
 David S. Jackson, 1871-1872.
 David T. Brown, 1872-1878.
 Greenleaf K. Sheridan, 1875-
 1885.

Wm. R. Peters, 1878-
 James F. Chamberlain, 1885-
 1894.
 Charles E. Tripler, 1894-1900.
 John A. Beall, 1900-1904.
 E. J. Ware, 1904.

APPENDIX C

VESTRYMEN OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

Valentine Nutter, 1807-1808.
 Edward Dunscomb, 1807-1811.
 Michael Hogan, 1807-1810.
 William A. Davis, 1807-1810.
 Oliver H. Hicks, 1807-1813.
 Jacob Schieffelin, 1807-1811.
 Thomas Cadle, 1807-1811.
 Isaac Jones, 1807-1822.
 William Rhineland, 1808-1812,
 1813-1823.
 Dr. William Hammersley, 1810-
 1812.
 William Weyman, 1810-1833.
 James Whitehouse, 1811-1814.
 Andrew McVickar, 1811-1813.
 Henry Fisher, 1811-1813.
 G. W. Prevost, 1812-1813.
 Guy Carleton Bayley, 1812-
 1815, 1831-1834.
 Wm. Rodgers, 1813-1815.
 Leslie Stewart, 1813-1815.
 John Jackson, 1813-1814.
 Nathaniel Prime, 1814-1815.
 Henry McFarlane, 1814-1815.
 Frederick DePeyster, 1815-1816.
 Samuel Ferguson, 1815-1816.
 John Day, 1815-1816.
 William Heyward, 1815-1816,
 1820-1829.
 Henry Jackson, 1815-1819.
 Garrit Van Horne, 1816-1817.
 Martin S. Wilkins, 1816-1819.
 John C. Clarkson, 1816-1817.
 Anthony Barclay, 1816-1817.

Whitehead Fish, 1817-1819.
 Robert G. L. DePeyster, 1817-
 1819.
 Augustus Grille, 1817-1819.
 James F. DePeyster, 1818-1830.
 William A. Hardenbrook, 1819-
 1824.
 Henry Brevoort, 1819-1821.
 Herman Thorn, 1819-1824, 1827-
 1831.
 James Renwick, 1819-1820.
 Isaac Lawrence, 1821-1825.
 George McKay, 1822-1830.
 Frederick W. Rhineland, 1823-
 1828.
 Edward Martin, 1824-1825.
 Robert Cuthbert, 1824-1829.
 Noah Scovell, 1825-1827.
 Frederick DePeyster, Jr., 1825-
 1852.
 J. G. Russell, 1828-1832, 1838-
 1839.
 Gideon Lee, 1829-1836.
 Dr. A. V. Williams, 1829-1841.
 Dr. James McDonald, 1830-
 1841.
 William A. Davis, 1830-1831.
 Sidney A. Holly, 1831-1835.
 C. V. S. Kane, 1831-1832.
 John R. Schuyler, 1832-1834.
 Thomas Van Zandt, 1833-1835.
 James DePeyster, 1834-1837.
 Horace Waldo, 1834-1850.
 Abraham DePeyster, 1835-1837.

- Ira Ford, 1835-1838.
George W. Smith, 1836-1838.
Edward J. Swords, 1837-1847.
William H. Howland, 1837-1850.
William G. Buckner, 1838-1841.
H. W. T. Mali, 1839-1862.
William Whitlock, 1841-1854.
Michael Yates, 1841-1843.
James G. Stacey, 1843-1847.
Richard L. Schieffelin, 1843-1845, 1847-1854.
Frederick L. Talcott, 1845-1848.
James Punnett, 1847-1867.
John L. Wendell, 1848-1852.
Albert McNulty, 1850-1865.
David S. Jackson, 1850-1871.
H. C. von Post, 1852-1856, 1865-1866.
John Weyman, 1852-1857.
William Whitlock, Jr., 1854-1858.
Thomas A. Richmond, 1854-1860.
Wm. P. Furniss, 1856-1859, 1870-1872.
Charles S. Weyman, 1857-1866.
Gustav Schwab, 1858-1866.
Valentine Mott, 1859-1860.
Dr. D. T. Brown, 1860-1872.
H. H. Taylor, 1860-1863.
D. S. Jackson, Jr., 1862-1873.
Hermann Schröder, 1863-1865.
Greenleaf K. Sheridan, 1865-1875.
David H. Dick, 1866-1879.
Frederick S. Heiser, 1866-1875.
James W. Coates, 1866-1870.
George W. Ferguson, 1867-1892.
George S. Stringfield, 1871-1876.
W. R. Peters, 1872-1878.
Charles H. Kitchel, 1872-1893.
Byron S. Cotes, 1873-1886.
Benjamin F. Tiemann, 1875-1881.
William F. Chester, 1875-1879.
Edward L. Tiemann, 1876-1895.
Richard B. Tunstall, 1878-1884.
Dr. Frederick T. Brown, 1879-1885.
Charles E. Tripler, 1879-1894.
Rev. Richard M. Hayden, 1881-1891.
Charles B. Meyer, 1884-1892.
Charles M. Marsh, 1885-1888.
Theodore V. Boynton, 1887-1888.
Berrien Keyser, 1888-.
Dr. Edward J. Ware, 1889-1904.
John A. Beall, 1891-1900.
Gilbert D. Case, 1892-.
Harry B. Livingston, 1892-1905.
J. B. Wilkinson, Jr., 1893-1902.
Robert T. Bellchambers, 1894-.
Isaac McGay, 1895-1897.
A. A. Whitman, 1897-.
John F. Pullen, 1898-1906.
W. B. Goodwin, 1900-.
Charles L. Case, 1903-.
J. Woolsey Shepard, 1904-.
Henry C. Stuart, 1905-.
Benjamin W. Wells, 1907-.

APPENDIX D

SECRETARIES OR CLERKS OF VESTRY

- William A. Davis, 1807-1812. William A. Davis, 1818-1823.
Guy Carleton Bayley, 1812-1815. Herman Thorn, 1823-1824.
Henry Jackson, 1815-1818. Edward Martin, 1824-1825.

Fred. DePeyster, Jr., 1825-1839.	E. L. Tiemann, 1878-1894.
James McDonald, 1839-1841.	G. D. Case, 1894-1904.
A. V. Williams, 1841-1862.	A. A. Whitman, 1904-
D. T. Brown, 1862-1878.	

APPENDIX E

TREASURERS

Robert T. Kemble, 1807-1810.	Henry Jackson, 1816-1818.
Oliver H. Hicks, 1810-1815.	James F. DePeyster, 1818-1874.
Isaac Jones, 1815-1816.	William R. Peters, 1874-.

APPENDIX F

CLERGY OF ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH

I. *Rectors*

John Vanderbilt Bartow, 1808-10.
 Samuel Farmar Jarvis, 1810-20.
 William Richmond, 1820-37; 1842-58.
 James Cook Richmond, 1837-42.
 Thomas McClure Peters, 1858-93.
 John Punnett Peters, 1893-.

II. *Assistants or Curates*

William Powell, 1819-21.	H. C. Mayer, 1881-82.
Augustus Fitch, 1821-35.	Roland E. Grueber, 1881-85.
Manton Eastburn, 1823.	Lawrence Henry Schwab, 1881-83.
E. D. Griffin, 1827.	John Punnett Peters, 1883-93.
James Murray Forbes, 1832-33.	Frank Draper, 1883-86.
James Cook Richmond, 1834-36.	John S. Fawcett, 1885-88.
William Richmond, 1837-42.	G. W. Mayer, 1885-87.
William Morris, 1838-43.	Montgomery H. Throop, Jr., 1887-88.
Caleb Clapp, 1839-40.	George Starkweather Pratt, 1888-98.
James Sunderland, 1840.	Arthur H. Warner, 1892-93.
Thomas McClure Peters, 1847-58.	Mortimer T. Jefferis, 1894-1905.
J. D. Reid, 1863-64.	Francis McFetrich, 1894-96.
John W. Payne, 1867-68.	Charles Lewis Biggs, 1896-1900.
A. H. Warner, 1868-69.	Arthur Wynne Shaw, 1899-1900.
Caleb Theophilus Ward, 1869-93.	E. Vicars Stevenson, 1899-1902.
R. Landsberger, 1878-80.	
J. Rockstroh, 1880-81.	

Frederick W. Roberts, 1900-01.	Appleton Grannis, 1902-05.
Henry Harrison Hadley, 1901-02.	G. S. S. Richards, 1902-03.
James Bishop Thomas, 1902-03.	Sydney K. Evans 1903-05.
	Robert Philip Kreidler, 1906-.
	Burton Howard Lee, 1906-.

APPENDIX G

VARIOUS OFFICIALS OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

Teacher of St. Michael's Charity School, William Morgan, 1817-26.
Parish Visitor, Miss Julia Peters, 1893-.

Assistants to Treasurer

Tylee W. Parker, 1890-93.	Henry T. Edson, 1899-1903.
Thomas A. Fulton, 1893-99.	William H. Brumley, 1903-

Partial List of Clerks of St. Michael's Vestry

——— Jarvis, 1810-	Isaac Devoe, 1820-
——— Wiggins, 1812-	——— Jarvis, until 1832, if not later.
Isaac Jones, 1815-	

Partial List of Organists and Choir Masters

Mrs. A.V. Williams (Miss Emeline Davis), to 1831.	Mrs. Thomas A. Richmond, 1865-88.
Alice Clarissa Richmond, 1842-	Walter O. Wilkinson, 1888-94.
Sarah Adelaide Adams, 1850.	Robert T. Winterbottom, 1894-1900.
(Rev.) Franklin Babbitt, 1851-52.	James Pearce, 1901.
Mrs. McIntosh, 1853-	William Neidlinger, 1902-
Charles W. Meding, 1860-	

Chimers

Walter O. Wilkinson, 1892-93.	W. H. Dikeman, 1895-1900
Oliver T. Holden, 1893-94.	Thomas Angier Ayers, 1901-

Partial List of Sextons of St. Michael's Church

——— Armstrong, 1807-	Charles Chitry, 1872-74.
Martin Pabor, 1815-16.	J. M. Bramman, Jr., 1874-80.
——— Stewart, 1816-	H. H. Jackson, 1880-81.
Adam Thompson, 1836-50.	S. J. Luckings, 1881-
William Twine 1850-72.	

Assistant Sextons

Edward T. Carr, 1884-92.	John J. Ferguson, 1894-97.
Emile T. Luckings, 1893-94.	Wilfred C. Jarvis 1898-

Engineers

William Congleton, 1897-

APPENDIX H

VITAL STATISTICS OF THE PARISH

Compiled from Convention Journals and parish register, from the date of the organization of the church to the present time.

Years.	Families.	Bap- tisms.	Confir- mations.	Mar- riages.	Burials.	Commu- nicants.
1808		8				
1809		33		4	5	52
1810		10		5	3	50
1811		3		2	1	20
1812		11		4	1	30
1813		5		2	3	36
1814		6		2		
1815		5		4	1	30
1816		10		2	4	26
1817		4		3	3	26
1818		19		3	7	27
1819		18		1		
1820		11		2	1	17
1821		11			11	23
1822		2			6	27
1823		4		1	6	30
1824		5		2	12	30
1825		11			9	20
1826		14		2	11	25
1827		7		2	12	27
1828		18		5	18	25
1829		5		5	10	60
1830				1	9	60
1831		20		4	12	50
1832		12		2	19	55
1833		25		6	10	50
1834		41		5	15	60
1835		39	18	10	11	78
1836		35	5	8	31	73
1837		46	6	6	29	60
1838		24	19	5	26	70
1839		10			15	
1840		29	12	4	20	
1841		23			24	
1842		28		3	32	40
1843		12	3	2	18	45
1844		20	3	5	16	50
1845		19		2	15	
1846		20		5	15	
1847		17		8	29	
1848		13		3	17	
1849		14		2	22	

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Years.	Families.	Bap- tisms.	Confir- mations.	Mar- riages.	Burials.	Communi- cants.
1850		24	16	4	19	
1851		17		1	25	
1852		14		12	35	
1853	70	21	4	10	17	44
1854		13			13	
1855	76	17	1	2	9	45
1856	65	20	40	1	7	55
1857	60	13	12	1	3	113
1858		7	8	2	13	
1859	60	21	8	3	28	20
1860	60	20	7	2	24	29
1861	70	36	18	6	18	51
1862		65	14	5	13	55
1863		119	33	5	19	58
1864		64	26	8	33	79
1865		101	24	4	92	110
1866		82	35	3	92	122
1867		40	24	3	23	106
1868		30	24	11	17	124
1869	132	51	23	8	24	150
1870	130	55		5	26	143
1871		30	15	2	25	157
1872		25	17	8	31	160
1873		31	32	6	31	167
1874	88	44	39	5	39	179
1875	88	41	17	3	14	170
1876	113	30	22	3	26	192
1877	110	143	28	3	55	219
1878	112	92	48	12	62	231
1879	140	88	60	11	38	298
1880	140	62	26	15	44	301
1881	209	84	42	20	57	387
1882	227	144	51	15	90	318
1883	225	126	50	9	68	330
1884	200	101	45	13	65	365
1885	286	126	50	15	76	423
1886	277	70	45	12	89	459
1887	214	112	48	22	86	448
1888	385	107	41	19	106	516
1889	509	133	60	33	107	582
1890	509	157	85	31	102	669
1891	676	152	89	35	114	730
1892	696	132	91	39	109	940
1893	718	135	66	37	115	975
1894	815	86	75	26	55	1038
1895	807	191	93	33	91	1135
1896	824	162	83	33	97	1179
1897	847	146	89	38	92	1268
1898	843	139	58	41	104	1190

Years.	Families.	Bap- tisms.	Confir- mations.	Mar- riages.	Burials.	Communi- cants.
1899	992	118	70	42	94	1325
1900	1012	109	91	40	91	1451
1901	1112	109	75	44	96	1652
1902	1127	150	88	45	90	1738
1903	900	114	104	64	80	1400
1904	921	134	95	62	103	1516
1905	980	164	126	69	125	1604
1906	995	122	96	60	105	1619
1907	1197	125	99	84	133	1720

APPENDIX I

DELEGATES TO THE DIOCESAN CONVENTION REPRESENTING ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH

The names of absentees are in italics.

- 1807-8-9. Robert T. Kemble, Valentine Nutter.
 1810. Valentine Nutter, *Isaac Jones*.
 1811. Valentine Nutter, *Isaac Jones*, W. A. Davis.
 1812. Valentine Nutter, William A. Davis, Frederick DePeyster, Isaac Jones.
 1813. Valentine Nutter, *William Rodgers*, John Jackson.
 1814. Valentine Nutter, *William Rodgers*, Isaac Jones.
 1815. Valentine Nutter, *William Rodgers*.
 1816. Isaac Jones, Valentine Nutter, *William Rodgers*.
 1817. Valentine Nutter, *William Rodgers*, Isaac Jones.
 1818. Valentine Nutter, William A. Davis, Isaac Jones.
 1819. *Isaac Jones*, *Valentine Nutter*
 1820. Herman Thorn, Valentine Nutter, William A. Davis.
 1821. Herman Thorn, Valentine Nutter, *Isaac Jones*.
 1822. *Isaac Jones*, *Valentine Nutter*.
 1823. Valentine Nutter, William A. Davis, *Herman Thorn*.
 1824. Valentine Nutter, Edward Martin.
 1825. Valentine Nutter, William A. Davis, James F. DePeyster.
 1826. Valentine Nutter, James F. DePeyster.
 1827. Valentine Nutter, William A. Davis, James F. DePeyster.
 1828. Valentine Nutter, James F. DePeyster.
 1829. James F. DePeyster, *Valentine Nutter*.

1830. Valentine Nutter, James F. DePeyster.
1831. Gideon Lee, James F. DePeyster, *Guy C. Bayley*, Valentine Nutter.
1832. Valentine Nutter, *Gideon Lee*, James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams.
1833. James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams, Dr. James McDonald, Thomas Van Zandt.
1834. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. James McDonald*, Thomas Van Zandt, Dr. A. V. Williams.
1835. *James F. DePeyster*, Dr. A. V. Williams, *Dr. James McDonald*, Thomas Van Zandt.
1836. James F. DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1837. James F. DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1837. Special Convention on Division of Diocese: James F. DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, Dr. A. V. Williams.
1838. W. S. Buckner, James F. DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1839. James F. DePeyster, Frederick DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, *W. S. Buckner*, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1840. James F. DePeyster, Frederick DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1841. James F. DePeyster, Dr. James McDonald, Michael Yates, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1842. James F. DePeyster, Edward J. Swords, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1843. James F. DePeyster, Edward J. Swords, Dr. A. V. Williams, *H. Waldo*.
1844. James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams, Richard L. Schieffelin.
1845. James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams, *T. L. Talcott*, *E. J. Swords*, *H. Waldo*.
1846. James F. DePeyster, William Whitlock, Jr., William P. Furniss, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Joseph P. Stacey.
1847. James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams, William P. Furniss, *William Whitlock*, John L. Wendell.
1848. James F. DePeyster, William P. Furniss, John L. Wendell.
1849. James F. DePeyster, *John L. Wendell*, *Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1850. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, John L. Wendell.
1851. James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams, *John L. Wendell*.
1852. James F. DePeyster, *James Punnett*, Dr. A. V. Williams.
1853. James F. DePeyster, *Richard L. Schieffelin*, Dr. A. V. Williams.
1854. James F. DePeyster, Dr. A. V. Williams, *David S. Jackson*.

1855. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Albert McNulty.
1856. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Albert McNulty.
1857. James F. DePeyster, *Albert McNulty, Dr. A. V. Williams*.
1858. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Albert McNulty.
1859. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Albert McNulty.
1860. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Albert McNulty.
1861. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. A. V. Williams*, Albert McNulty.
1862. James F. DePeyster, *H. Taylor*, Albert McNulty.
1863. James F. DePeyster, Albert McNulty, *Charles S. Weyman*.
1864. James F. DePeyster, Albert McNulty, *Charles S. Weyman*.
1865. James F. DePeyster, *Dr. D. Tilden Brown, Charles S. Weyman*.
1866. James F. DePeyster, *James Punnett, David H. Dick*.
1867. James F. DePeyster, *James Punnett, David H. Dick*.
1868. James F. DePeyster, *James Punnett, George W. Ferguson*.
1869. James F. DePeyster, *James Punnett, David H. Dick*.
1870. James F. DePeyster, *David H. Dick, George W. Ferguson*.
1871. James F. DePeyster, *David H. Dick, George W. Ferguson*.
1872. James F. DePeyster, *David H. Dick, Charles H. Kitchel*.
1873. *James F. DePeyster, Dr. D. Tilden Brown, Charles H. Kitchel*.
1874. *Dr. D. Tilden Brown, David H. Dick*.
1875. *Dr. D. Tilden Brown, Benjamin F. Tiemann, William F. Chester*.
1876. *Dr. D. Tilden Brown, Benjamin F. Tiemann, William F. Chester*.
1877. *Charles H. Kitchel, William F. Chester, George W. Ferguson*.
1878. *Charles H. Kitchel, William F. Chester, Richard B. Tunstall*.
1879. *Charles H. Kitchel, Greenleaf K. Sheridan, Richard B. Tunstall*.
1880. *Charles H. Kitchel, Greenleaf K. Sheridan, Richard B. Tunstall*.
1881. *Charles H. Kitchel, Greenleaf K. Sheridan, Charles E. Tripler*.
1882. *Charles H. Kitchel, Greenleaf K. Sheridan, Charles E. Tripler*.
1883. *Greenleaf K. Sheridan, Charles H. Kitchel, Byron L. Cotes*.
1884. *Greenleaf K. Sheridan, Charles H. Kitchel, Byron L. Cotes*.
1885. *Charles H. Kitchel, Byron S. Cotes, Charles E. Tripler*.
1886. *Charles H. Kitchel, Byron S. Cotes, Charles E. Tripler*.
1887. *Charles H. Kitchel, Charles E. Tripler, Theodore V. Boynton*.
1888. *Charles H. Kitchel, Charles E. Tripler, Theodore V. Boynton*.

1889. Charles H. Kitchel, *Charles E. Tripler*, Dr. Edward J. Ware.
1890. Charles H. Kitchel, Charles E. Tripler, *Dr. Edward J. Ware*.
1891. Charles H. Kitchel, Charles E. Tripler, *John A. Beall*.
1892. Charles H. Kitchel, *Charles E. Tripler*, John A. Beall.
1893. Charles E. Tripler, John A. Beall, Dr. Edward J. Ware.
1894. John A. Beall, Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr., Dr. Edward J. Ware.
1895. John A. Beall, Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr., Dr. Edward J. Ware.
1896. John A. Beall, Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr., H. B. Livingston.
1897. John A. Beall, *Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr.*, *Charles E. Tripler*.
1898. John A. Beall, Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr., Charles E. Tripler.
1899. John A. Beall, *Dr. Edward J. Ware*, Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr.
1900. John A. Beall, Dr. Edward J. Ware, Joseph B. Wilkinson, Jr.
1901. John A. Beall, Berrien Keyser, *William B. Goodwin*.
1902. John A. Beall, Berrien Keyser, *William B. Goodwin*.
1903. John A. Beall, William R. Peters, Gilbert D. Case.
1904. *Dr. Edward J. Ware*, Berrien Keyser, Gilbert D. Case.
1905. Dr. Edward J. Ware, Berrien Keyser, J. Woolsey Shepard.
1906. *W. R. Peters*, Dr. Edward J. Ware, J. Woolsey Shepard.
1907. Berrien Keyser, Benjamin W. Wells, J. Woolsey Shepard.

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